الجامعة المصرية

مجلة

كلية الآداب

المجلد الأول

الجزء الثاني

ديسمبر ١٩٣٣

تصدر هذه المجلة مرتين فى السنة . فى مايو وفى ديسمبر . وثمن النسخة بما فيه البريد ٢٠ قرشاً صاغاً وتوجه المكاتبات الخاصة بها الى سكرتير التحرير شفيق غربال بكلية الآداب بالجيزة .

القاهرة — مطبعة المعهد العلمى الفرنسى للآثار الشرقية

الجامعة المصرية

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كلية الآداب

المجلد الأول — الجزء الثانى ديسمبر ١٩٣٣

موضوعات القسم العربى

صحيفة

موضوعات القسم الأوروبى

أبو يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى

لمصطفى عبد الرازق

ينتسب الفيلسوف «يعقوب الكندى» إلى كنده «وكنده» هى[1] من بنى كهلان وبلادهم باليمن

وكان لكندة ملك بالحجاز واليمن

وفى الأغانى[2] «قال أبو عبيده : حدثنى أبو عمرو بن العلاء أن العرب كانت تعد البيوتات المشهورة بالكبر والشرف من القبائل بعد بيت هاشم بن عبد مناف فى قريش ثلاثة بيوت ومنهم من يقول أربعة :

أولها — بيت آل حذيفة بن بدر الفزارى بيت قيس

— وبيت آل زراره بن عدس الدارميين

— وبيت آل ذى الجدين بن عبد الله بن همام بيت شيبان

— وبيت بنى الديان من بنى الحارث بن كعب بيت اليمن

وأما «كندة» فلا يعدون من أهل البيوتات إنما كانوا ملوكا

وقال الكلبى قال كسرى للنعمان : هل فى العرب قبيلة تشرف على قبيلة ؟

قال : نعم

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(1) — تفرقت قبائل اليمن من كهلان ، وحمير ، ابنى سبأ . وسبأ اسمه «عبد شمس» وقال قوم اسمه «عامر» وهو ابن يشجب ويشجب بن يعرب ويعرب بن قحطان . وسبأ اسم يجمع القبيلة كلهم كما يكون اسم رجل بعينه — كتاب الاشتقاق لابن دريد ص ٢١٧

(2) الأغانى جـ ١٧ ص ١٠٦ - ١١٠

قال : بأى شىء ؟

قال : من كانت له ثلاثة آباء متوالية رؤساء ثم اتصل ذلك بكمال الرابع ، والبيت من قبيلته فيه

قال : فاطلب لى ذلك . فطلبه فلم يصبه إلا فى آل حذيفة بن بدر ، بيت قيس بن عيلان ، وآل حاجب بن زراره بيت تميم ، وآل ذى الجدين بيت شيبان ، وآل الأشعث بن قيس ، بيت كندة

قال : فجمع هؤلاء الرهط ومن تبعهم من عشائرهم فأقعد لهم الحكام العدول ، فأقبل من كل قوم منهم شاعر ، وقال لهم : ليتكلم كل رجل منكم بمآثر قومه وفعالهم ، وليقل شاعرهم فيصدق ، فقام حذيفة بن بدر ، وكان أسن القوم وأجرأهم مقدماً فقال :

. . . . .

ثم قام الأشعث بن قيس ، وإنما أذن له أن يقوم قبل ربيعة ، وتميم ، لقرابته بالنعمان فقال : لقد علمت العرب أنا نقاتل عديدها الأكثر ، وقديم زحفها الأكبر وأنا غياث اللزبات

فقالوا : لم يا أخا كندة ؟

قال : لأنا ورثنا ملك كندة فاستظللنا بأفيائه وتقلدنا منكبه الأعظم وتوسطنا بجبوحه الأكرم

ثم قام شاعرهم فقال :

اذا قست أبيات الرجال ببيتنا ... وجدت له فضلا على من يفاخر
فمن قال كلا أو أتانا بخطة ... ينافرنا يوماً فنحن نخاطر
تعالوا فعدوا يعلم الناس أينا ... له الفضل فيما أورثته الأكابر

ثم قام بسطام بن قيس فقال : . . . . . .

ثم قام حاجب بن زرارة فقال : . . . . . .

ثم قام قيس بن عاصم فقال : . . . . . .

فلما سمع كسرى ذلك منهم قال : ليس منهم إلا سيد يصلح لموضعه فاسنى حباءهم »

وفى كتاب[١] المعارف لابن قتيبة عند الكلام على أديان الجاهلية : « وكانت اليهودية فى حمير ، وبنى كنانة ، وبنى الحارث بن كعب ، وكندة »

هذا قديم يعقوب الكندى فى الجاهلية

أما نسبه فى الاسلام فهو : أبو يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق بن الصباح بن عمران ابن إسماعيل بن محمد بن الأشعث بن قيس

وقد بقى لكندة مجدها فى الاسلام فمن كندة من كان له ذكر فى الفتوح والثورات[٢] ومنهم : من ولى الولايات[٣] ومنهم من تقلد القضاء

قال ابن دريد فى كتاب « الاشتقاق »[٤] : ولى القضاء من كندة بالكوفة أربعة : جبر بن القشعم ، ثم شريح ، ثم عمرو بن أبى قره ، ثم حسين بن حسن الحجرى ، ولاه خالد بن عبد الله القسرى »

ومنهم : الشعراء كجعفر بن عفان المكفوف شاعر الشيعه ، وعزام بن المنذر من المعمرين وهو الذى يقول فى شعره :

والله ما أدرى أأدركت أمة	على عهد ذى القرنين أو كنت أقدما ؟
متى تنزعا عنى القميص تبينا	جناجن لم يكسين لحماً ولا دما

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(١) كتاب المعارف لابن قتيبة ص ٣٠٥

(٢) مثل حصين بن نمير السكونى الذى صار صاحب جيش يزيد بن معاوية بعد مسلم بن عقبه فى وقعة الحره بظاهر المدينة وشرحبيل بن السمط أدركه الاسلام وأدرك القادسية وهو الذى قسم منازل حمص بين أهلها حين افتتحها ، ومعاوية بن حديج الذى قتل محمد بن أبى بكر وكنانة بن بشير الذى ضرب عثمان بالعمود — كتاب الاشتقاق ص ٢٢٠ ، ٢٢١

(٣) كالربيع بن مرى بن أوس ولى الحمى بظهر الكوفة ولاه الوليد بن عقبه ، وكان لولاية الحمى قدر فى ذلك الزمان « الاشتقاق » ص ٢٢٩

(٤) نفس المصدر ص ٢١٩

وأول من أسلم من آباء الكندى الأشعث[1] بن قيس قال بن الأثير الجزرى[2] : « وفد إلى النبى سنة عشر من الهجرة فى وفد كندة وكانوا ستين راكباً فأسلموا . . . . . وكان الأشعث ممن ارتد بعد النبى فسير أبو بكر الجنود إلى اليمن فأخذوا الأشعث أسيراً فأحضر بين يديه فقال له : استبقنى لحربك وزوجنى بأختك ، فأطلقه أبو بكر وزوّجه بأخته ، وهى أم محمد بن الأشعث ، ولما تزوجها اخترط سيفه ودخل سوق الأبل فجعل لا يرى جملا ولا ناقة ألا عرقبه ، وصاح الناس : كفر الأشعث ، فلما فرغ طرح سيفه وقال : انى والله ما كفرت ، ولكن زوجنى هذا الرجل أخته ، ولو كنا ببلادنا لكانت لنا وليمة غير هذه ، يا أهل المدينة انحروا وكلوا ، ويا أصحاب الأبل خذوا أثمانها ، فما رئى وليمة مثلها ، وشهد الأشعث اليرموك بالشام ففقئت عينه ، ثم سار إلى العراق فشهد القادسية ، والمدائن ، وجلولا ، ونهاوند ، وسكن الكوفة وابتنى بها داراً ، وشهد صفين مع على ، وكان ممن ألزم عليا بالتحكيم ، وشهد الحكمين بدومة الجندل وكان عثمان رضى الله عنه استعمله على أذر بيجان ، وكان الحسن ابن على تزوج بنته فقيل هى التى سقت الحسن السم فمات . . . .
وتوفى سنة اثنتين وأربعين ، وقيل سنة أربعين »

وقال الحافظ البغدادى[3] « الأشعث بن قيس » قدم على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فى وفد كندة ، ويعد فيمن نزل الكوفة من الصحابة ، وله عن النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم رواية ، وقد شهد مع سعد بن أبى وقاص قتال الفرس بالعراق ، وكان على راية كندة يوم صفين مع على بن أبى طالب ، وحضر قتال الخوارج بالنهروان ، وورد المدائن ثم عاد إلى الكوفة فأقام بها حتى مات فى الوقت الذى صالح فيه الحسن بن

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(1) من أصحاب النبى وكان قبل ذلك ملكا على جميع كنده وكان أبوه قيس بن معدى كرب ملكا على جميع كنده عظيم الشأن . أنظر طبقات الأمم للقاضى صاعد ص ٥٢

(2) أسد الغابة فى معرفة الصحابة جـ ١ ص ٩٨

(3) فى كتاب تاريخ بغداد جـ — ١ — ص — ١٩٦ ، ١٩٧ —

على معاوية بن أبى سفيان وصلى عليه الحسن . . . . الأشعث بن قيس يكنى « أبا محمد » مات فى آخر سنة أربعين بعد قتل على . . . .
مات بعد قتل على بن أبى طالب بأربعين ليلة فيها أخبر ولده ، وتوفى وهو ابن ثلاث وستين »

وأما محمد بن الأشعث ، فقيل : أنه ولد على عهد رسول الله واستعمله ابن الزبير على الموصل[1] . وذكر الزبير بن بكار فى تسمية أولاد على : أن مصعب بن الزبير لما غزا المختار بعث على مقدمته محمد بن الأشعث ، وعبيد الله بن على بن أبى طالب فقتلا ، وكان ذلك سنة سبع وستين

ولمحمد بن الأشعث ولد يسمى عبد الرحمن خرج على الحجاج واستولى على خراسان ، ثم سار إلى جهة الحجاج وغلب على الكوفة وقويت شوكته . ثم أمد عبد الملك الحجاج بالجيوش فانهزم عبد الرحمن ولحق بملك الترك . وأرسل الحجاج بطلبه وتهدد ملك الترك بالغزو أن أخره ، فقبض ملك الترك على عبد الرحمن وعلى أربعين من أصحابه وبعث بهم إلى الحجاج فلما نزل فى مكان فى الطريق ألقى عبد الرحمن نفسه من سطح فمات وذلك فى سنة خمس وثمانين

ويظهر : أن هذا الحادث حادث عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث الذى يصوره « الدكتور طه حسين » فى كتابه « الأدب الجاهلى » بقوله : (ثم نحن نعلم : أن حفيد الأشعث بن قيس وهو عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث قد ثار بالحجاج وخلع عبد الملك ، وعرض ملك آل مروان للزوال وكان سبباً فى أراقة دماء المسلمين من أهل العراق والشام وكان الذين قتلوا فى حروبه يحصون فيبلغون عشرات الآلاف)

يظهر : أن هذا الحادث جنى على منزلة بيت الأشعث بن قيس عند آل مروان نخفت ذكرهم فى التاريخ حوالى جيلين ، من أجل ذلك سكت التاريخ عن اسماعيل بن

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(١) أسد الغابة ج ٤ ص ٣١١ — ٣١٢

محمد بن الأشعث أخى عبد الرحمن . وعن ابنه عمران . وهما جدان من جدود يعقوب ابن إسحاق الكندى . بل قد سكت التاريخ عن شأن « الصباح » اللهم إلا ما جاء فى كتاب « أخبار[١] الحكماء » نقلا عن ابن جلجل الأندلسى ، كما جاء أيضاً فى كتاب « عيون الأنباء[٢] فى طبقات الأطباء » : (وقال سليمان بن حسان : أن يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى شريف الأصل بصرى كان جده ولى الولايات لبنى هاشم)

ويظهر أن فى هذه الرواية خلطاً لأن الذى ولى الولايات لبنى هاشم إنما هو إسحاق ابن الصباح كما أجمع عليه سائر المؤرخين ، ولأن الكندى لم يكن بصرياً وإنما كان من الكوفة ، على أن الصباح كان من عشيرته فى مقام رفيع حتى أصبحوا ينتسبون إليه ، فيقال لهم بنو الصباح كما يقال : بنو الأشعث بن قيس

وإذا كانت صلة بنى الأشعث بن قيس بالخلفاء من بنى مروان قد انقطعت منذ خروج عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث على الحجاج ، وعبد الملك بن مروان ، فان بيت الكندى ظل فى الكوفة من بيوتاب المجد والحسب الشامخ ، ولما تولى الخلافة العباسيون عاد بيت الكندى إلى الظهور فى ميدان السياسة والحكم ، فتولى إسحاق بن الصباح الكوفة فى أيام المهدى والرشيد

وإسحاق بن الصباح الكندى الأشعثى مذكور فى كتب رجال الحديث على أنه : ضعيف ، مقل ، من الطبقة السابعة ، أى أنه عاش فى المائة الثانية من الهجرة[٣]

أما كتب التاريخ والأدب فتذكر من أخبار ولايته وعزله وجاهه ، وكرمه ، وصلته بالشعراء ، والعلماء ، ومظاهر غناه ، ونبله ، وأخذه بأسباب الترف والنعيم

« وقال ابن سعد[٤] : كان إسحاق الصباح الأشعثى صديقاً لنصيب[٥] ، وقدم قدمة

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(١) ص — ٢٤١ —

(٢) جـ ١ ص ٢٠٧

(٣) تقريب التهذيب ص ١٤

(٤) الأغانى جـ — ٢٠ — ص ٣٣ —

(٥) الذى كانت وفاته بعد السبعين ومائه

من الحجاز فدخل على إسحاق وهو يهب لجماعة وردوا عليه براً ، وتمراً ، فيحملونه على إبلهم ويمضون

فوهب نصيب جارية حسناء يقال لها « مسروره » فأردفها خلفه ومضى وهو يقول :

اذا احتقبوا براً فأنت حقيبتى ... من الشرفيات الثقال الحقائب
ظفرت بها من أشعثى مهذب ... أغر ، طويل الباع ، جم المواهب
فداً لك يا اسحاق كل مبخل ... ضجور ، اذا عضت شداد النوائب
اذا ما بخيل المال غيب ماله ... فمالك عد ، حاضر ، غير غائب
اذا اكتسب القوم الثراء فانما ... يرى الحمد غنما من كريم المكاسب

وقال فيه أيضاً :

فتى من بنى الصباح يهتز للندى ... كما اهتز مسنون الفرار عتيق
فتى لا يذم الضيف والجار رفده ... ولا يجتويه صاحب ورفيق
أغر ، لأبناء السبيل موارد ... الى بيته ، تهديهم ، وطريق
وان عد أنساب الملوك وجدته ... الى نسب يعلوهم ويفوق
فما فى بنى الصباح ان بعد المدى ... على الناس ، الا سابق وعريق
وانى لمن شاحنتم لمشاحن ... وانى لمن صادقتم لصديق

وورد ذكر إسحاق بن الصباح فى كتاب « البيان[1] والتبيين » للجاحظ فى قصة من قصص « بهلول » بن عمرو الصيرفى الكوفى الذى كان من عقلاء المجانين ، وكان محبوباً عند الرشيد وغيره من الخلفاء وتوفى فى حدود سنة ١٩٠ هـ ٨٠٦ م

« قال الجاحظ : ومن مجانين الكوفة : « بهلول » وكان يتشيع قال له إسحاق بن الصباح : أكثر الله فى الشيعة مثلك قال : بل أكثر الله فى المرجئة مثلى وأكثر فى الشيعة مثلك

وأول عهد إسحاق بن الصباح بالولايات والحكم كان فى سنة ١٥٩ فى عهد الخليفة المهدى الواقع بين سنتى ١٥٨ — ١٦٩

« ويروى[2] : أن المهدى ضم إلى شريك بن عبد الله النخعى الكوفى المتوفى سنة

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(١) جـ — ٢ — ص — ١١٩ —

(٢) تاريخ بغداد جـ ٩ ص ٢٩٣

١٧٧ الصلاة مع القضاء وولى شرطه إسحاق بن الصباح ، ثم ولى إسحاق بن الصباح بن عمران بن إسماعيل بن محمد بن الأشعث الكوفة وولى شرطه النعمان بن جعفر الكندى ، فمات النعمان ، فولى على شرطه أخاه يزيد بن جعفر . ويقال : أن شريكا القاضى هو الذى أشار على المهدى باختيار إسحاق وظل يتناوب ولاية الكوفة مع هاشم بن سعيد ، وروح بن حاتم ، وموسى بن عيسى ، إلى عهد الرشيد الواقع بين ١٧٠ — ١٩٣

وهؤلاء كانوا سراة الكوفة ووجوهها

وكان موسى بن عيسى والياً على الكوفة . فقال موسى لشريك : ما صنع أمير المؤمنين بأحد ما صنع بك ، عزلك عن القضاء ، فقال شريك : هم أمراء المؤمنين يعزلون القضاة ويخلعون ولاة العهود ، فلا يعاب ذلك عليهم ، فقال موسى : ما ظننا أنه مجنون هكذا لا يبالى ما تكلم به ، وكان أبوه عيسى بن موسى ولى العهد بعد أبى جعفر نخلعه بمال أعطاه إياه ، وهو ابن عم أبى جعفر

فوالد الكندى كان يزاحم بمنكبه أبناء عمومة الخليفة ، وكانت ولاية الكوفة دولة بينه وبينهم

بل كان ابن عم الخليفة يلجأ إلى إسحاق بن الصباح ليلين من شكيمة القاضى شريك ابن عبد الله

روى عمر بن هياج بن سعد قال : أتت إمرأة يوماً شريك بن عبد الله قاضى الكوفة وهو فى مجلس الحكم فقالت : أنا بالله ثم بالقاضى ، قال : من ظلمك ؟ قالت : الأمير موسى بن عيسى ابن عم أمير المؤمنين ، كان لى بستان على شاطىء الفرات ، فيه نخل ورثته عن أبى وقاسمت إخوتى وبنيت بينى وبينهم حائطا وجعلت فيه رجلا فارسياً يحفظ النخل ويقوم به ، فاشترى الأمير موسى بن عيسى من جميع إخوتى ، وساومنى ورغبنى فلم أبعه ، فلما كان هذه الليلة بعث بخمسمائة غلام وفاعل ، فاقتلعوا الحائط ، فأصبحت لا أعلم من نخلى شيئاً واختلط بنخل إخوتى . فقال : يا غلام أحضر طينة ،

فأحضر ، فختمها وقال : امض إلى بابه حتى يحضر معك ، فجاءت المرأة بالطينة المختومة ، فأخذها الحاجب ودخل على موسى فقال : قد أعدى القاضى عليك وهـذا ختمه ، فقال : أدع لى صاحب الشرطة فدعا به ، فقال : امض إلى شريك وقل : يا سبحان الله ما رأيت أعجب من أمرك ، إمرأة إدعت دعوى لم تصح أعديتها علىّ ، فقال صاحب الشرطة : أن رأى الأمير أن يعفينى من ذلك ، فقال : امض ويلك ، فخرج وقال لغلمانه : إذهبوا واحملوا إلى حبس القاضى بساطاً وفراشاً وما تدعو الحاجة إليه ، ثم مضى إلى شريك ، فلما وقف بين يديه أدى الرسالة ، فقال لغلام المجلس : خذ بيده فضعه فى الحبس ، فقال صاحب الشرطة : والله قد علمت : انك تحبسنى فقدمت ما أحتاج إليه إلى الحبس

وبلغ موسى بن عيسى الخبر فوجه الحاجب إليه وقال له : رسول أدى إليك رسالة أى شىء عليه ؟ فقال شريك : إذهبوا به إلى رفيقه إلى الحبس ، فحبس ، فلما صلى الأمير موسى العصر بعث إلى إسحاق بن الصباح الأشعثى ، وإلى جماعة من وجوه الكوفة من أصدقاء القاضى شريك ، وقال لهم : أبلغوه السلام وأعلموه : أنه استخف بى وأنى لست كالعامة

فمضوا إليه وهو جالس فى مسجده بعد صلاة العصر فأبلغوه الرسالة ، فلما انقضى كلامهم قال لهم : مالى أراكم جئتمونى فى غبرة من الناس فكلمتمونى ؟ من ههنا من فتيان الحى ؟ فأجابه جماعة من الفتيان ، فقال : ليأخذ كل واحد منكم بيد رجل فيذهب به إلى الحبس ، ما أنتم إلا فتنة وجزاؤكم الحبس ، قالوا له : أجاد أنت ؟ قال : حقاً حتى لا تعودوا لرسالة ظالم

فحبسهم فركب موسى بن عيسى فى الليلة إلى باب السجن وفتح الباب وأخرجهم كلهم ، فلما كان من الغد وجلس شريك للقضاء جاءه السجان فأخبره ، فدعا بالقمطر فختمه ووجه به إلى منزله وقال لغلامه : الحق بثقلى إلى بغداد ، والله ما طلبنا هذا الأمر منهم ولكن أكرهونا عليه ، ولقد ضمنوا لنا فيه الأعزاز إذ تقلدناه لهم ، ومضى نحو

قنطرة الكوفة إلى بغداد وبلغ الخبر إلى موسى بن عيسى فركب فى موكبه فلحقه ، وجعل يناشده الله ويقول :

يا أبا عبد الله تثبت أنظر أخوانك تحبسهم ، دع أعوانى ، قال : نعم لأنهم مشوا لك فى أمر لم يجز لهم المشى فيه ولست ببارح أو يردوا جميعاً ، وإلا مضيت إلى أمير المؤمنين المهدى فاستعفيته مما قلدنى ، فأمر موسى بردهم جميعاً إلى الحبس وهو واقف والله مكانه حتى جاء السجان فقال : قد رجعوا جميعاً إلى الحبس فقال لأعوانه : خذوا بلجام دابته بين يدى إلى مجلس الحكم ، فمروا به بين يديه حتى أدخل المسجد وجلس فى مجلس القضاء ، فجاءت المرأة المتظلمة فقال : هذا خصمك قد حضر ، فقال موسى وهو مع المرأة بين يديه : قبل كل أمر أنا قد حضرت أولئك يخرجون من الحبس ، فقال شريك : أما الآن فنعم أخرجوهم من الحبس ، فقال : ما تقول فيما تدعيه هذه المرأة ؟ قال : صدقت ، قال : ترد ما أخذت منها ، وتبنى حائطها سريعاً كما كان ، قال : أفعل ذلك ، قال لها : أبقى لك عليه دعوى ؟ قالت : بيت الرجل الفارسى ومتاعه ، قال موسى بن عيسى : ويرد ذلك كله ، بقى لك عليه دعوى ؟ قالت : لا وبارك الله عليك وجزاك خيراً ، قال : قومى ، فقامت من مجلسه فلما فرغ قام وأخذ بيد موسى بن عيسى وأجلسه فى مجلسه وقال : السلام عليك أيها الأمير ، أتأمر بشىء ؟ قال : أى شىء آمر ؟ وضحك ، فقال له شريك : أيها الأمير ذلك الفعل حق الشرع ، وهذا القول الآن حق الأدب ، فقام الأمير وانصرف من مجلسه وهو يقول : من عظم أمر الله أذل الله له عظماء خلقه »[1]

والظاهر : أن إسحاق بن الصباح توفى فى أواخر عهد هارون الرشيد المتوفى سنة ١٩٣ ، وظلت قرابته تتصل بخدمة الخلفاء ، فأن المؤرخين لا يعرضون لاسحاق بعد زمن الرشيد وقد سبقت الأشارة إلى قول كتب الرجال : أنه من أهل المائة الثانية

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(١) « العقد الفريد » للملك السعيد ص — ١٧١ ، ١٧٢ —

على أنا نجد إسم جعفر بن محمد بن الأشعث فى أسماء من ولاهم الرشيد خراسان ، على ما فى تاريخ الطبرى وذكر الطبرى[1] أيضاً أن الرشيد إتهم هرثمة فوجه ابنه المأمون قبل وفاته بثلاث وعشرين ليلة إلى مرو ومعه عبد الله بن مالك ، ويحيي بن معاذ وأسد بن يزيد بن مزيد ، والعباس بن جعفر بن محمد بن الأشعث الخ

ولما كان يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى قد توفى فى أواسط القرن الثالث الهجرى كما سيأتى تحقيقه ولم يكن أحد ممن ترجموا له أشار إلى أنه كان من المعمرين فمن المرجح أنه ولد فى عواقب عمر أبيه ، وأن أباه تركه طفلا ، فنشأ فى الكوفة فى أعقاب تراث من السؤدد ومن الغنى ، وفى حضن اليتم وظل الجاه الزائل

وإذا كان جاه بنى الأشعث بن قيس لم يزل بزوال إسحاق فان عهدهم الزاهر فى الكوفة قد تولى بموته ، وكانوا انتشروا فى البلاد ، فلم يبق للصبى اليتيم إلا أمه التى لا نعرف من شأنها قليلا ولا كثيراً

كانت الأيم تريد بالضرورة لولدها : أن يعيش كأبيه ميسرا وجيها ، فدبرت له ماله ، ونشأته مقتصداً ، مرفهاً ، غنياً ، ثم ساقته فى سبيل العلم لما آنست من ذكائه المتوقد وشوقه إلى إلتهام المعارف ، حتى إذا فاتته فخامة الحكم لم تفته جلالة العلم والحكمة

ولقد وصف الجاحظ[2] مجد العالم الغنى عن الناس وصفاً لعله يمثل ما أملته لابنها أم الكندى : « ولقد دخلت على إسحاق بن سليمان فى امرته فرأيت السماطين والرجال مثولاً وكأن على رؤوسهم الطير ، ورأيت فرشته وبزته

ثم دخلت عليه وهو معزول وإذا هو فى بيت كتبه وحواليه الأسفاط والرفوف والقماطير والدفاتر والمساطر والمحابر ، فما رأيته قط أفخم ولا أنبل ولا أهيب ولا أجزل منه فى ذلك اليوم ، لأنه جمع مع المهابة المحبة ومع الفخامة الحلاوة ومع السؤدد الحكمة »

كانت علوم الأحكام الدينية ووسائلها هى العلوم التى تروج يومئذ سوقها ، وتكسب

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(١) تاريخ الطبرى جـ — ١٠ — ص — ١١٠ —

(٢) كتاب الحيوان جـ — ١ — ص — ٣١٠ —

صاحبها كرامة عند الخلفاء المحتاجين إلى أهل هذه العلوم فى إقامة ملكهم على سند من السياسة الشرعيه ، وكانت هذه العلوم أيضاً تهب صاحبها جلالا فى قلوب العامة الذين تهمهم من الدين شعائره وشرائعه

وكانت فيما حوالى هذا الزمن نكبة البرامكة يتناقل الناس أخبارها الفاجعة ، فيتمثلون ما فى شرف الولايات والحكم من أخطار

وقد شهدت أم الكندى عهد « شريك » القاضى العالم الدينى ورأت سلطانه يغالب سلطان ابن عم الخليفة فى الكوفة و يذل ما لزوجها من حسب وجاه شامخ

وكل سلطانه يقوم على علمه ودينه ، وكانت الأحاديث عن عزة شريك ، وشدته فى الحق على أهل الشرف والجاه سمر المجالس

وأبو عبد الله شريك بن عبد الله تولى القضاء بالكوفة أيام المهدى ثم عزله موسى الهادى ، وتولى القضاء بعد ذلك بالأهواز توفى بالكوفة سنة ١٧٧ — أو ١٧٨ ﻫ وكان هارون الرشيد بالحيرة فقصده ليصلى عليه فوجدهم قد صلوا عليه فرجع

جرى بينه وبين مصعب بن عبد الله الزبيرى كلام بحضرة المهدى ، فقال له مصعب : أنت تنتقص أبا بكر وعمر رضى الله عنهما فقال القاضى شريك : والله ما انتقص جدك وهو دونهما . ودخل يوماً على المهدى فقال له : لا بد أن تجيبنى إلى خصلة من ثلاث خصال ، قال : وما هن يا أمير المؤمنين ؟ قال : اما أن تلى القضاء ، أو تحدث ولدى ، وتعلمه ، أو تأكل عندى أكلة ، وذلك قبل أن يلى القضاء فأفكر ساعة ثم قال : لأكلة أخفها على نفسى

فأجلسه وتقدم إلى الطباخ أن يصلح له ألواناً من المخ المعقود بالسكر الطبرزد والعسل وغير ذلك ، فعمل ذلك وقدمه إليه ، فأكل فلما فرغ من الأكل قال له الطباخ : والله يا أمير المؤمنين ليس يفلح الشيخ بعد هذه الأكلة أبداً

قال الفضل بن الربيع : فحدثهم والله شريك بعد ذلك ، وعلم أولادهم ، وولى القضاء لهم

وقد كتب له برزقه على الصيرفى فضايقه فى النقد ، فقال له الصيرفى : إنك لم تبع به بزا ، فقال له شريك . بل والله بعت به أكثر من البز ، بعت به دينى[(١)]

وفى تاريخ بغداد للخطيب البغدادى المتوفى سنة ٤٦٣ : « قال عبد الله بن مصعب : حضرت شريكا فى مجلس أبى عبيد الله ، وعنده الحسن بن زيد بن الحسن بن على بن أبى طالب ، والجريرى ، رجل من ولد جرير كان خطيباً للسلطان فقال شريك : حدثنا أبو إسحاق . . . . عن عمر بن الخطاب قال : إنا كنا نأكل لحوم هذه ونشرب عليها النبيذ ليقطعها فى أجوافنا وبطوننا ، فقال الحسن بن زيد : ما سمعنا بهذا فى الملة الآخرة ، إن هذا إلا اختلاق فقال شريك : أجل والله ما سمعت ، شغلك عن ذلك الجلوس على الطنافس فى صدور المجالس »

أمثال هذه الأسمار عن شريك وغير شريك كانت جديرة أن ترغب الناس فى العلوم التى شأنها أن توصل إلى هذه المنزلة ، وهى كما ذكرنا : علوم الأحكام الدينية ووسائلها

أما علوم الكلام ، فلم تكن حين ذاك برغم تشجيع الخلفاء لها إلا فنونا من النظر العقلى مبتدعة ، ينكرها أهل الزعامة الدينية وهى بعيدة الصلة بالحياة وحاجاتها ، فلا جاه لها من دين ولا من دنيا

وأما الفلسفة وما إليها ، فلم تكن إلا علوماً دخيلة يشتغل بتعريبها أناس لا هم مسلمون ولا من العرب

وكان من تحدثه نفسه بمعالجة بعض هذه العلوم من المسلمين لا يلقى من الثقة بعلمه ما يلقاه أهل هذا الشأن من غير المسلمين ، قال الجاحظ فى كتاب « البخلاء »[(٢)] : (« أسد بن جانى » وكان طبيباً فأكسد مرة ، فقال له قائل : السنة وبيئة والأمراض فاشية وأنت عالم ولك صبر وخدمة ، ولك بيان ومعرفة ، فمن أين تؤتى فى هذا الكساد ؟ قال : أما واحدة ، فانى عندهم مسلم ، وقد اعتقد القوم قبل أن أتطبب ، لا بل قبل

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(١) ابن خلكان ج — ١ — ص — ٢٨٢ ، ٢٨٣ —

(٢) طبعة ليدن ص — ١٠٩ ، ١١٠ —

أن أخلق : أن المسلمين لا يفلحون فى الطب ، وأسمى أسد ، وكان ينبغى أن يكون إسمى صليباً ، ومراسل ، ويوحنا ، وبيرا ، وكنيتى أبو الحارث ، وكان ينبغى أن تكون أبو عيسى ، وأبو زكريا وأبو إبراهيم ، وعلى رداء قطن أبيض ، وكان ينبغى أن يكون على رداء حرير أسود ، ولفظى لفظ عربى وكان ينبغى أن تكون لغتى لغة أهل جند يسابور)

كان طبيعياً إذا : أن تدفع أم الكندى طفلها إلى العلوم الدينية وآلاتها ، فتعلم علوم اللغة والأدب وشدا من علوم الدين شيئاً ، ولكن الطفل كان بفطرته طلعة يلتمس أن يدرك بعقله الأشياء وعللها ويريد أن يحيط بكل شىء علما ، فما هو إلا أن بلغ رشده وأصبح أمره بيده حتى انطلق يرضى شهوة عقله فيتصل بعلم الكلام ، ويشارك المتكلمين فى مباحثهم ويغلبه حب المعرفة ، فلا يجد فيما تمارسه بيئته الاسلاميه العربية ما يكفى حاجة عقله الطموح ، ويقتحم غمار الفلسفة وما إليها من العلوم المنقولة عن يونان ، وفارس ، والهند ولا يجد فيما يترجمه النقلة غنى ، فيحاول أن يرد هذه العلوم فى منابعها ، ويتعلم اليونانية ، ويترجم بها ويصلح ما يترجمه غيره ، ويتصل بالثقافة اليونانية إتصالاً ظاهراً الأثر فى عواطفه ، وفى تفكيره

قال المسعودى فى « مروج الذهب[1] » : « وقد كان يعقوب الكندى يذهب فى نسب يونان إلى ما ذكرنا : أنه أخ لقحطان ويحتج لذلك بأخبار يذكرها فى بدء الأشياء ويوردها من حديث الآحاد ، والأفراد ، لا من حديث الاستفاضة والكثرة ، وقد رد عليه أبو العباس عبد الله بن محمد الناشى فى قصيدة له طويلة . ووكد خلطه نسب « يونان » بقحطان على حسب ما ذكرنا آنفاً فى صدر هذا الباب فقال :

أبا يوسف أنى نظرت فلم أجد ... على الفحص رأياً صح منك ولا عقدا
وصرت حكيما عند قوم إذا امرؤ ... بلاهم جميعاً لم يجد عندهم عندا

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(١) طبعة بولاق ص ١٣٨

أتقرن الحاداً بدين محمد لقد جئت شيئاً يا أخا كندة ادا
وتخلط يوناناً بقحطان ضلة لعمرى لقد باعدت بينهما جدا »

ويظهر : أن الكندى كان عارفاً بالسريانية ، وكان ينقل الكتب منها إلى العربية ، فقد جاء فى كتاب « أخبار العلماء[١] بأخبار الحكماء » : (ومما اشتهر من كتب بطليموس وخرج إلى العربية . . . . كتاب « الجغرافيا فى المعمور من الأرض » وهذا الكتاب نقله الكندى إلى العربية نقلا جيداً ويوجد سريانياً)

وفى كتاب « طبقات الأطباء[٢] » نقلا عن أبى معشر : حذاق الترجمة فى الاسلام أربعة : حنين بن إسحاق ، ويعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى ، وثابت بن قرة الحرانى ، وعمر بن الفرخان الطبرى

ومترجمو الكندى يكادون يتفقون على : أنه (كان كثير[٣] الاطلاع)

يقول ابن النديم فى « الفهرست[٤] » : فاضل دهره وواحد عصره فى معرفة العلوم القديمة بأسرها ، ويقول صاحب كتاب « أخبار[٥] الحكماء » : « المشتهر فى الملة الاسلامية بالتبحر فى فنون الحكمة اليونانية والفارسية والهندية »

وقد يكون تبحره فى هذه الفنون دليلاً على أنه تعلم من اللغات ما أعانه على ذلك

وفى مواضع متفرقة من كتاب « الفهرست » ما يدل على أن الكندى كان محيطاً بمذاهب الحرنانية الكلدانيين المعروفين بالصابئة ومذاهب الثنوية الكلدانيين

وقد نقل صاحب الفهرست[٦] وصف هذه المذاهب حكاية من خط أحمد بن الطيب فى أمرهم حكاها عن الكندى

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[١] طبع مطبعة السعادة بمصر ص — ٦٩ ، ٧٠ —
[٢] ج ١ ص — ٢٠٧ —
[٣] أخبار الحكماء ص — ٤٦ —
[٤] ص ٢٥٥
[٥] ص ٢٤٠
[٦] ص — ٣١٨ —

وفى ص ٣٢٠ من الفهرست : (قال الكندى : انه نظر فى كتاب يقربه هؤلاء القوم وهو مقالات لهرمس فى التوحيد لا يجد الفيلسوف إذا أتعب نفسه مندوحة عنها والقول بها)

وفى الفهرست أيضاً ما يدل على أن الكندى كان خبيراً بمذاهب الهند معنياً بدرسها

جاء فى ص ٣٤٥ : « قرأت فى جزء ترجمته ما هذه حكايته : كتاب فيه ملل الهند وأديانها — نسخت هذا الكتاب من كتاب كتب يوم الجمعة لثلاث خلون من المحرم سنة تسع وأربعين ومائتين — لا أدرى الحكاية التى فى هذا الكتاب لمن هى ؟ إلا أنى رأيته بخط يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى حرفاً حرفاً وكان تحت هذه الترجمة ما هذه حكايته بلفظ كاتبه : حكى بعض المتكلمين بأن يحيى بن خالد البرمكى بعث برجل إلى الهند ليأتيه بعقاقير موجودة فى بلادهم وأن يكتب له أديانهم فكتب له هذا الكتاب

قال محمد بن إسحاق : الذى عنى بأمر الهند فى دولة العرب : يحيى بن خالد وجماعة البرامكة واهتمامها بأمر الهند وأحضارها علماء طبها وحكماءها »

تعلم الكندى فى الكوفة ، وانتقل إلى بغداد واشتغل بعلم الأدب ، ثم بعلوم الفلسفة ، كما ذكر ذلك محمد بن نباتة المصرى فى كتابه « سرح العيون شرح[1] رسالة ابن زيدون » أما صاحب كتاب « أخبار الحكماء » فيذكر فى ترجمة الكندى نقلا عن ابن جلجل الأندلسى : أن يعقوب بن الصباح كان شريف الأصل بصرياً وكان جده ولى الولايات لبنى هاشم ونزل البصرة وضيعته هناك ، وانتقل إلى بغداد وهنالك تأدب . وينقل ابن أبى أصيبعة عن مثل ذلك

وإذا كان فيما نقله القفطى ، وابن أبى أصيبعة خطأ من ناحية جعل الكندى بصرياً ، ففيه أيضاً تعارض إذ كيف يكون بصرياً ثم يقال : نزل البصرة ؟

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(١) ص — ١٢٣ —

على أنه ليس ببعيد : أن يكون الكندى نزل البصرة قبل ذهابه إلى بغداد ، وليس ببعيد أنه كانت له ضيعة هناك

أما تاريخ انتقاله من الكوفة إلى البصرة وتاريخ ذهابه إلى بغداد فليس عندنا منهما خبر

وتاريخ ميلاده غير معروف إلا ظنا ، وقد أشرنا فيما مضى إلى أن الراجح أن ميلاده كان فى أواخر حياة أبيه الذى توفى فى زمن الرشيد ، والرشيد توفى سنة ١٩٣ هـ ٨٠٨ م

فالغالب : إن الكندى ولد فى مطلع القرن التاسع الميلادى حوالى ٨٠١ م ١٨٥ هـ كما رجحه « ده بوير[1] »

وقد كانت الكوفة والبصرة وبغداد مراكز الثقافة فى بلاد الاسلام على اختلاف فنونها

وفى كتاب « طبقات[2] الأطباء » : إن يعقوب بن إسحاق كان عظيم المنزلة عند المأمون ، والمعتصم ، وعند ابنه أحمد

وليس لدينا ما يدل على أن صلة الكندى بهؤلاء الخلفاء كانت عبارة عن دخوله فى المناصب إلا ما يروى من إنه كان مؤدباً لأحمد بن المعتصم

ومع ممارسة الكندى للأدب وما إليه حتى قال صاحب كتاب « أخبار الحكماء » : « وخدم الملوك مباشرة بالأدب » وحتى نقلوا عنه حكايات فى نقد الشعر ، وفى الجدل فى أسرار البلاغة العربية ، وحتى ذكروا : أن له كتاباً فى صنعة البلاغة[3] ،

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(١) دائرة المعارف الاسلامية — الكندى

(٢) ج — ١ — ص — ٢٠٧ —

(٣) وفى ص — ١٧١ — من كتاب الفهرست فى الفصل الذى عنوانه : « ذكر ما وجدت من الكتب المصنفة فى الآداب لقوم لم يعرف حالهم على استقصاء » ما نصه : « كتاب من نسج بيتاً فنبز به ، ومن نسج بيتاً فنسب اليه الكندى »

وفى ص — ١٠ — من كتاب « الفهرست » : وقال الكندى : « لا أعلم كتابة تحتمل من تحليل حروفها وتدقيقها ما تحتمل الكتابة العربية ، ويمكن فيها من السرعة مالا يمكن فى غيرها من الكتابات »

فان الأدب لم يكن هو الميدان الذى ظهرت فيه مواهب الكندى وآثار عبقريته

وفى كتاب « سرح العيون » لابن نباتة المصرى : « حكى : انه كان حاضرا عند أحمد بن المعتصم وقد دخل أبو تمام ، فأنشده قصيدته السينية ، فلما بلغ إلى قوله :

اقدام عمرو فى سماحة حاتم   فى حلم أحنف فى ذكاء اياس

قال الكندى : ما صنعت شيئاً ، قال : كيف ؟ قال : مازدت على أن شبهت ابن أمير المؤمنين بصعاليك العرب وأيضاً أن شعراء دهرنا تجاوزوا بالممدوح من كان قبله ، ألا ترى إلى قول العكوك فى أبى دلف ؟ :

رجل أبر[1] على شجاعة عامر   باساً وغبر فى محيا حاتم

فأطرق أبو تمام ثم أنشد :

لا تنكروا ضربى له من دونه   مثلا شروداً فى الندى والباس
فالله قد ضرب الأقل لنوره   مثلا من المشكاة والنبراس

ولم يكن هذا فى القصيدة ، فتعجب منه ، ثم طلب أن تكون الجائزة ولاية عمل ، فاستصغر عن ذلك . فقال الكندى : ولوه فانه قصير العمر ، لأن ذهنه ينحت من قلبه ، فكان كما قال

وقد يكون فى ذلك ظهرت له دلائل من شخصه على قرب أجله

وسمع الكندى إنساناً ينشد ويقول :

وفى أربع منى حلت منك أربع   فما أنا أدرى أيها هاج لى كربى ؟
خيالك فى عينى ؟ أم الذكر فى فمى ؟   أم النطق فى سمعى ؟ أم الحب فى قلبى ؟

فقال : والله لقد قسمها تقسيماً فلسفياً

وسمع رجلا ينشد قول ربيعة الرقى

لو قيل للعباس : يا ابن محمد   قل : لا ، وأنت مخلد ، ما قالها

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(١) أبر عليهم غلبهم — لسان العرب —

فقال : ليس يجب : أن يقول الانسان فى كل شىء : نعم وكان الوجه : أن يستثنى ثم قال :

هجرت فى القول لا ، الا لعارضة تكون أولى بلا فى اللفظ من نعم »

وهذه الشواهد تعرب عن منهج الكندى فى النقد الأدبى وهو مذهب فلسفى يقوم على العناية بسلامة المعنى من الوجهة المنطقية واستقامته فى نظر العقل

وفى كتاب « دلائل الاعجاز » لعبد القاهر الجرجانى[1] : فصل واعلم : أن مما أغمض الطريق إلى معرفة ما نحن بصدده : أن ههنا فروقاً خفية تجهلها العامة وكثير من الخاصة ، ليس انهم يجهلونها فى موضع ويعرفونها فى آخر ، بل لا يدرون انها هى ، ولا يعلمونها فى جملة ولا تفصيل

روى عن ابن الانبارى : أنه قال : ركب الكندى المتفلسف إلى أبى العباس[2] وقال له : إنى لأجد فى كلام العرب حشوا . فقال له أبو العباس : فى أى موضع وجدت ذلك ؟ فقال : أجد العرب يقولون : عبد الله قائم ، ثم يقولون : أن عبد الله قائم ، ثم يقولون : إن عبد الله لقائم والألفاظ متكررة والمعنى واحد

فقال أبو العباس : بل المعانى مختلفة لاختلاف الألفاظ فقولهم : عبد الله قائم ، اخبار عن قيامه ، وقولهم : ان عبد الله قائم ، جواب عن سؤال سائل ، وقولهم : ان عبد الله لقائم ، جواب عن انكار منكر قيامه ، فقد تكررت الألفاظ لتكرر المعانى . قال : فما أحار المتفلسف جواباً

وإذا كان الكندى يذهب هذا عليه حتى يركب فيه ركوب مستفهم أو معترض ، فما ظنك بالعامة ومن هو فى عداد العامة ممن لا يخطر شبه هذا بباله ؟

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(١) أبو بكر محمد توفى سنة ٣٢٨ هـ ص ٢٢٦ — ٢٢٧

(٢) بهامش الكتاب : هو أما ثعلب ، أو المبرد ، وكانا متعاصرين ومتفقين فى الكنية والظاهر : أن المقصود هو : أبو العباس أحمد بن يحيى بن زيد بن سبار النحوى المعروف بثعلب أمام الكوفيين فى النحو ، واللغة فى زمانه ، وعنه أخذ ابن الانبارى توفى سنة ٢٩١ أما أبو العباس محمد بن زيد المعروف بالمبرد المتوفى سنة ٢٨٥ فكان من أهل البصرة

واعلم : أن ههنا دقائق لو أن الكندى استقرى وتصفح وتتبع مواقع إن ثم ألطف النظر وأكثر التدبر لعلم علم ضرورة : أن ليس سواء دخولها وأن لا تدخل »

وقد نسبت إليه أشعار رواهـا ابن نباتة فى « سرح العيون شرح رسالة ابن زيدون » ورواها غيره ممن ترجموا له منها : قوله فى وصف قصيدة

تقصر عن مداها الريح جرياً ... وتعجز عن مواقعها السهام
تناهب حسنها حاد ، وشاد ... فحث بهـا المطايا والمدام

ومنها أيضاً :

أناف الذنابى على الأرؤس ... فغمض جفونك أو نكس[١]
فان الغنى وفى [فقير] غدا[٢] ... وان التعـزز بالأنفس
وكائن نرى من أخى عسرة ... غنى وذى ثروة مفلس
وكم كاتم شخصه ميت[٣] ... على انه بعد لم يرمس[٤]

وظاهر من هذا الشعر : أن يعقوب الكندى لم يكن جديراً بأن يعد فى الشعراء ، ولم يكن أديباً يتصرف فى أفانين البيان بالأساليب البارعة

ويذكر بعض من ترجموا له : أنه كان يعاب بضعف بيانه

قال الشهرزورى فى كتاب « نزهة الأرواح » لشمس الدين الشهرزورى[٥] :

« ذكر أبو سليمان السجزى : أنه اجتمع هو وجماعة من الحكماء عند الملك أبى جعفر بن بويه بسجستان فجرى حديث فلاسفة الاسلام ، فقال الملك : ما وجدنا فيهم على كثرتهم من يقوم فى أنفسنا مقام سقراط ، وأفلاطون وارسطاطاليس ، فقيل

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(١) بعد هذا البيت فى « طبقات الأطباء » وفى رواية الشهرزورى من كتاب نزهة الأرواح :

وضائل سوادك واقبض يديك ... وفى قعر بيتـــك فاستجلس

(٢) الذى فى « نزهة الأرواح » وفى « طبقات الأطباء » : فان الغنى فى قلوب الرجال

(٣) الذى فى طبقات الأطباء : ومن قائم شخصه ميت

(٤) بعد هذا البيت فى طبقات الأطباء :

فان تطعم النفس ما تشتهى ... تقيـك جميـع الذى تحتسى

(٥) نسخة مصورة بمكتبة الجامعة المصرية ص ١٧٥

له : ولا الكندى ، قال : ولا الكندى ، فان الكندى على غزارته ، وجودة استنباطه ، ردىء اللفظ ، قليل الحلاوة ، متوسط السيرة ، كثير الغارة على حكمة الفلاسفة ، « وثابت »[1] ألزم للقطب وأشد اعتسافاً بهذا الفن ، ثم جميع الناس يتفاوتون بعدهما ، ولهما السبق »

وأسلوب الكندى فى الترجمة لما يدرس بعد كما أشار إلى ذلك الأستاذ « مسنيون » فى كتابه « مجموع نصوص لم تنشر . متعلقة بتاريخ التصوف فى بلاد الاسلام » ص ١٧٥

ولما كان أكثر ما كتب الكندى قد عبثت به يد الضياع إلا بقايا توجد فى ترجمات لاتينية مثل رسالته فى العقل ، فان على الباحث فى أسلوب الكندى أن يكتفى بالنزر القليل الذى وصل إلينا من مؤلفاته بالعربية كرسالته فى كمية ملك العرب أو ما وصلنا من التراجم التى أصلحها الكندى مثل كتاب « أتولوجيا » الذى نقله إلى العربية « عبد المسيح » بن عبد الله بن ناعمة الحمصى ، وأصلحه لأحمد بن المعتصم بالله أبو يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى

والذى يلاحظ فى أسلوب الكندى اعتماداً على هذه المصادر الضئيلة : أن فيه غموضاً يأتى بعضه من أن الألفاظ الاصطلاحية الفلسفية لم تكن استقرت فى نصابها وتحددت معانيها

ومن أمثلة ذلك : ما جاء فى كتاب « أتولوجيا » ص — ٢ — : « وإذ قد ثبت فى اتفاق أفاضل الفلاسفة : أن علل العالم القديمة البادية أربعة : وهى الهيولى ، والصورة ، والعلة الفاعلة ، والتمام ، » والذى سماه التمام هو الذى سمى فيما بعد العلة الغائية ، كما يؤخذ من سابق كلامه ولاحقه

ومن أمثلة ذلك أيضاً : استعماله فى كتاب « أتولوجيا » كلمة « مبسوط » بمعنى « بسيط » كما جاء فى صفحة — ١٦ — : قلنا « وما الذى يمنع النفس إذا كانت فى العالم الأعلى من أن تعلم الشىء المعلوم دفعة واحدة ، واحدا كان المعلوم أو كثيراً ، لا يمنعها

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(١) هو أبو الحسن ثابت بن قره كانت ولادته فى سنة ٢٢١ احدى وعشرين ومائتين . وتوفى يوم الخميس السادس والعشرين من صفر سنة ٢٨٨ ثمان وثمانين ومائتين

شىء عن ذلك البتة لأنها مبسوطة ذات علم مبسوط فعلم الشىء الواحد مبسوطاً كان أو مركباً دفعة واحدة

وقد يكون الغموض من عدم وضوح المعنى فى نفسه وقد أشار إلى ذلك الأستاذ « جلسن[1] » فى كلامه على نظرية العقل عند الكندى حسبما ورد فى رسالته فى العقل الموجودة باللاتينية حيث يقول : « المعانى ضعيفة كأن الكندى كان يكابد فى امتلاك ناصيتها عناء »

والواقع : أن الأصول التى كان يرجع الكندى إليها مترجمة كانت إلى العربية أو غيرها ، أو موجودة فى لغاتها الأصلية لم تكن تخلو من تحريف ، ومن غموض ، وكان طبيعياً : أن يجد الكندى عناء فى استخلاص معان منها مستقيمة فى نظر العقل منتظمة النسق

وكان جهد الكندى فى استخلاص هذه المعانى مجتمعاً إلى جهده فى إبرازها فى لغة لم تذلل للأبحاث العلمية ، يظهر فى أسلوب الكندى ، فيضعف من روعة بيانه حين يقاس بأساليب البلغاء من أدباء العربية فى ذلك العهد ، ويضعف من وضوح معانيه أيضاً ، مع ميل الكندى للأيجاز والاقتصار من الألفاظ على ما يضبط المعنى ، ويمثله فى الذهن مستقيما .

والظاهر : أن الغموض كان غالباً على أساليب المشتغلين بالبحوث العلمية فى عصر الكندى لأسباب مختلفة يشير إلى بعضها الجاحظ فى كتاب « الحيوان[2] » إذ يقول :

« قلت لأبى الحسن الأخفش : أنت أعلم الناس بالنحو ، فلم لا تجعل كتبك مفهومة كلها ؟ وما بالنا نفهم بعضها ولا نفهم أكثرها ؟ وما بالك تقدم بعض العويص وتؤخر بعض المفهوم ؟ قال : أنا رجل لم أضع كتبى هذه لله ، وليست هى من كتب الدين ،

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(١) Gilson (Et.), *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen âge* (année 1929-30), Paris 1930 (vol. IV, p. 22-27).

(٢) جـ — ١ — ص — ٤٥ — ٤٦

ولو وضعتها هـذا الموضع الذى تدعونى إليه قلت حاجتهم إلىّ فيها . وإنما كانت غايتى المنالة ، فأنا أضع بعضها هذا الموضع المفهوم لتدعوهم حلاوة ما فهموا إلى التماس فهم ما لم يفهموا ، وإنما قد كسبت فى هذا التدبير إذ كنت إلى هذا التكسب ذهبت

ولكن ما بال إبراهيم النظام ، وفلان ، وفلان ، يكتبون الكتب لله بزعمهم ، ثم يأخذها مثلى فى موافقته وحسن نظره وشدة عنايته ولا يفهم أكثرها »

وما كان الكندى يلتمس بعلمه المنالة والكسب ، فقد كان غنياً بما ورث من آبائه ، وبما قد وصل إليه من بر الخلفاء

وكان يعيش مرفهاً يجمع فى داره ما يجمع أرباب الرفه من صنوف الحيوان العجيبة ، ذكر الجاحظ فى كتاب « الحيوان » : أنه كان فى منزل أبى يوسف بن إسحاق الكندى هران ذكران يلاحظ فيهما شذوذ

« وكان عند يعقوب بن الصباح الأشعثى هران ضخمان أحدهما يكوم الآخر متى أراده من غير إكراه ، ومن غير أن يكون المسفود يريد من السافد مثل ما يريد منه السافد[1] »

. . . . « وخبرنى صاحبنا هذا أن فى منزل أبى يوسف بن إسحاق الكندى هرين ذكرين عظيمين يكوم أحدهما الآخر ، وذلك كثيراً ما يكون ، وأن المنكوح لا يمانع الناكح ، ولا يلتمس منه مثل الذى يبذله[2] له »

وكانت له مكتبة زاخرة ، كما تدل عليه القصة التى نقلها ابن أبى أصيبعه[3] : قال : « كان محمد وأحمد ابنا موسى بن شاكر فى أيام المتوكل يكيدان كل من ذكر بالتقدم فى معرفة ، فأشخصا سند بن علىّ إلى مدينة السلام وباعداه عن المتوكل ، ودبرا على الكندى حتى ضربه المتوكل ووجها إلى داره ، فأخذا كتبه بأسرها وأفرداها فى خزانة سميت

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(١) جـ — ٣ — ص — ٥٧ —
(٢) جـ ٥ — ص ٩٧
(٣) جـ — ١ — ص — ٢٠٧ ، ٢٠٨ —

« الكندية » ومكن هذا لهما استهتار المتوكل بالآلات المتحركة ، وتقدم إليهما فى حفر النهر المعروف « بالجعفرى » فأسندا أمره إلى أحمد بن كثير الفرغانى الذى عمل المقياس الجديد بمصر ، وكانت معرفته أوفى من توفيقه لأنه ما تم له عمل قط ، فغلط فى فوهة النهر المعروف « بالجعفرى » وجعلها أخفض من سائره فصار ما يغمر الفوهة لا يغمر سائر النهر ، فدافع محمد ، وأحمد ، ابنا موسى فى أمره ، واقتضاهما المتوكل فسعى بهما إليه فيه ، فأنفذ مستحثاً فى إحضار سند بن على من مدينة السلام ، فوافى ، فلما تحقق محمد وأحمد ابنا موسى : أن سند بن على قد شخص أيقنا بالهلكة ، ويئسا من الحياة ، فدعا المتوكل بسند وقال له : ما ترك هذان الرديان شيئاً من سوء القول إلا وقد ذكراك عندى به ، وقد اتلفا جملة من مالى فى هذا النهر ، فأخرج إليه حتى تتأمله ، وتخبرنى بالغلط فيه ، فانى قد آليت على نفسى إن كان الأمر على ما وصف لى : أن أصلبهما على شاطئه ، وكل هذا بعين محمد وأحمد ابنى موسى وسمعهما

فخرج وهما معه فقال محمد بن موسى لسند : يا أبا الطيب أن قدرة الحر تذهب حفيظته ، وقد فرغنا إليك فى أنفسنا التى هى أعلاقنا ، وما ننكر : إنا أسأنا ، والاعتراف يهدم الاقتراف ، فتخلصنا كيف شئت ، قال لهما : والله أنكما لتعلمان ما بينى وبين الكندى من العداوة والمباعدة ولكن الحق أولى ما اتبع ، أكان من الجميل : ما أتيتماه إليه من أخذ كتبه ؟ والله لا ذكرتكما بصالحة حتى تردا عليه كتبه ، فتقدم محمد بن موسى فى الكتب إليه ، وأخذ خطه باستيفائها ، فوردت رقعة الكندى بتسلمها عن آخرها فقال : قد وجب لكما علىّ ذمام برد كتب هذا الرجل ولكما ذمام بالمعرفة التى لم ترعياها فىّ ، والخطأ فى هذا النهر يستتر أربعة أشهر بزيادة دجلة ، وقد أجمع الحساب على أن أمير المؤمنين لا يبلغ هذا المدى ، وأنا أخبره هذه الساعة : أنه لم يقع منكما خطأ فى هذا النهر إبقاء على أرواحكما ، فان صدق المنجمون ، أفلتنا الثلاثة ، وإن كذبوا ، وجازت مدته حتى تنقص دجلة وتنضب أوقع بنا ثلاثتنا

فشكر محمد وأحمد هذا القول منه واسترقهما به ، ودخل على المتوكل فقال له : ما

غلطا ، وزادت دجلة وجرى الماء فى النهر فاستتر حاله ، وقتل المتوكل بعد شهرين ، وسلم محمد وأحمد بعد شدة الخوف مما توقعا »

كان الكندى يعيش فى بغداد فى رخاء فى دار تحوى من الكتب ما احتاج ابنا موسى بن شاكر أن يفرداه فى خزانة سميت « الكندية » لكثرة تلك الكتب ونفاستها وبنو موسى بن شاكر هم كما يقول صاحب الفهرست[١] :

« وهؤلاء القوم ممن تناهى فى طلب العلوم القديمة وبذل فيها الرغائب ، واتعبوا فيها نفوسهم ، وأنفذوا إلى بلاد الروم من أخرجها إليهم ، فأحضروا النقلة من الأصقاع والأماكن بالبذل السنى فأظهروا عجائب الحكمة »

فهم كانوا ممن يجمع الكتب ويعرف أقدارها ، واهتمامهم بأمر مكتبة الكندى دليل على عظم شأنها

وكان فى دار الكندى أسباب للنعيم المادى إلى جانب أسباب المتاع العقلى كما يشهد له ما نقلناه عن كتاب « الحيوان »

وكان للكندى ضيعة بالبصرة كما أشرنا إليه آنفاً وكانت له ببغداد دور يستغلها بالأجر كما يؤخذ من كتاب « البخلاء » للجاحظ

وكان الكندى بعد أن ترك الاشتغال بفنون الأدب ، وترك علم الكلام ، وانصرف بكليته إلى علوم الفلسفة وما إليها يعيش عيشة عزلة وانكباب على الدرس ، يدل على ذلك ما روى من شعره الذى أسلفناه

نبغ الكندى فى علوم الحكمة ، وصار كما يقول الأستاذ « مسنيون[٢] » : (أمام أول مذهب فلسفى إسلامى فى بغداد ، وله إبحاث طريفة ، ثم إليه يرجع الفضل بعد ذلك فى تحرير جملة من التراجم العربية لمصنفات يونانية فى الفلسفة)

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(١) ص ٢٧١

(٢) Massignon (Louis), *Recueil de textes inédits concernant l'histoire de la Mystique en pays d'Islam*, Paris 1929.

ويدل عدد ما نسبه المترجمون له من الكتب فى الموضوعات المختلفة على سعة معارفه ، وكثرة اطلاعه

وقد جعل ابن النديم فى كتاب « الفهرست[١] » كتب الكندى سبعة عشر نوعاً :

(١ — كتبه الفلسفية ٢ — كتبه المنطقية ٣ — كتبه الحسابيات ٤ — كتبه الكريات ٥ — كتبه الموسيقيات ٦ — كتبه النجوميات ٧ — كتبه الهندسيات ٨ — كتبه الفلكيات ٩ — كتبه الطبيات ١٠ — كتبه الأحكاميات ١١ — كتبه الجدليات ١٢ — كتبه النفسيات ١٣ — كتبه السياسيات ١٤ — كتبه الاحداثيات ١٥ — كتبه الابعاديات ١٦ — كتبه التقدميات ١٧ — كتبه الأنواعيات)

وقد يقع فى تعديد كتب الكندى خلاف بين المؤرخين بالزيادة والنقص ، ولكنهم متفقون على أن له فى أكثر العلوم مؤلفات من المصنفات الطوال ، والرسائل القصار كان : فاضل دهره وواحد عصره فى معرفة العلوم القديمة بأسرها ، ويسمى فيلسوف العرب[٢]

وفى « طبقات الأمم » لصاعد[٣] : ولم يكن فى الاسلام من اشتهر عند الناس بعلوم الفلسفة حتى سموه فيلسوفا غير يعقوب

وفى كتاب « أخبار[٤] الحكماء » : « يعقوب بن إسحاق . . . . . أبو يوسف الكندى المشتهر فى الملة الاسلامية بالتبحر فى فنون الحكمة اليونانية ، والفارسية ، والهندية ، متخصص بأحكام النجوم ، وأحكام سائر العلوم فيلسوف العرب وأحد أبناء ملوكها »

وقد ذكر مثل ذلك صاحب « طبقات الأطباء[٥] » وزاد : أن له مصنفات جليلة ورسائل كثيرة جداً فى جميع العلوم

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(١) ص ٢٥٥

(٢) الفهرست ص ٢٥٥

(٣) ص — ٥٢ —

(٤) ص — ٢٤٠ —

(٥) ج — ١ — ص — ٢٠٦ ، ٢٠٧ —

أما ابن نباتة المصرى فيقول فى شرحه لرسالة ابن زيدون[1] : (الكندى هو يعقوب بن الصباح المسمى فى وقته « فيلسوف الاسلام » من ولد الأشعث بن قيس ، كان أبوه ابن الصباح من ولاة الأعمال فى الكوفة وغيرها فى أيام المهدى ، والرشيد ، وانتقل يعقوب إلى بغداد واشتغل بعلم الأدب ، ثم بعلوم الفلسفة جميعها ، فأتقنها وحل مشكلات كتب الأوائل ، وحذا حذو أرسطاطاليس وصنف الكتب الجليلة الجمة ، وكثرت فوائده ، وتلامذته ، وكانت دولة المعتصم تتجمل به وبمصنفاته ، وهى كثيرة جداً)

والكندى هو بلا ريب أول مسلم عربى اشتغل بالفلسفة التى كانت إلى عهده وقفاً على غير المسلم العربى ، وكان معاصرا لأبى الحسن ثابت بن قرة الحرانى الصابئ و « قسطا » بن لوقا البعلبكى المسيحى ، وكانوا ثلاثتهم أعلاماً فى مملكة الاسلام بعلم الفلسفة فى وقتهم ، كما ذكر ذلك صاعد فى كتاب « طبقات الأمم » : « وكان ذلك جديراً بأن يثير على الكندى أحقاداً من كل نوع ، فمنها : حسد منافسين كعداوة إبنى موسى بن شاكر ، ومنها : إنكار متشددين فى دينهم كما رأينا فى شعر الناشى ، ومن أمثلة ذلك : ما ذكره صاحب « الفهرست » عند الكلام على أبى معشر المنجم قال : « وكان أولاً من أصحاب الحديث ، ومنزله فى الجانب الغربى بباب خراسان ، وكان يضاغن الكندى ، ويغرى به العامة ، ويشنع عليه بعلوم الفلاسفة ، فدس عليه الكندى من حسن له النظر فى علوم الحساب ، والهندسة ، فدخل فيه فلم يكمل له ، فعدل إلى علم أحكام النجوم ، وانقطع شره عن الكندى بنظره فى هذا العلم ، لأنه من جنس علوم الكندى »

ويظهر : أن نوع الحياة التى كان يحياها الكندى الفيلسوف بحكم ما فيها من عزلة وانقطاع عن مجامع الأدباء والعلماء ، واتصال بالمترجمين ، والفلاسفة ، وهم غير مسلمين

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(1) ص — ١٢٣ —

ولا عرب ، لم يكن من شأن ذلك أن يجعل الكندى خفيفاً على أرواح من يرون فى الحياة غير ما يرى

ولعل هذا هو السر فى أن عمرو بن بحر الجاحظ جعل من الكندى فى كتابه البخلاء موضوع أسمار وفكاهات[1]

فالكندى عند الجاحظ مثل فى البخل (لا يزال يقول للساكن وربما قال للجار : أن فى الدار إمرأة بها حمل ، والوحمى ربما اسقطت من ريح القدر الطيبة ، فاذا طبختم فردوا شهوتها ولو بغرفة أو لعقة ، فان النفس يردها اليسير فان لم تفعل ذلك بعد إعلامى إياك فكفارتك أن اسقطت غرة عبد ، أو أمة ، ألزمت نفسك ذلك أم أبيت قال : فكان ربما يوافى إلى منزله من قصاع السكان والجيران ما يكفيه الأيام ، وإن كان أكثرهم يفطن ويتغافل

وكان الكندى يقول لعياله : أنتم أحسن حالاً من أرباب هذه الضياع ، إنما لكل بيت منهم لون واحد وعندكم ألوان

وكان الكندى يشترط على السكان : « أن يكون له روث الدابة وبعر الشاه ، ونشوار العلوفة ، وأن لا يخرجوا عظماً ، ولا يخرجوا كساحة ، وأن يكون له نوى التمر ، وقشور الرمان ، والغرفة من كل قدر تطبخ للحبلى فى بيته ، وكان فى ذلك يتنزل عليهم فكانوا لطيبه ، وإفراط بخله ، وحسن حديثه ، يحتملون ذلك »

وافتن الجاحظ فى خياله فأنشأ على لسان الكندى احتجاجات يساجل بها الساكنين عنده تبريراً لشح نفسه ، وطمعه فى النزر القليل ، وأسلوب الجاحظ نفسه ظاهر كل الظهور فى تلك الاحتجاجات ، على ما فيها من تكلف الجدل الفلسفى

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(١) الكندى الذى يذكر فى كتاب « البخلاء » هو أبو يوسف يعقوب بن اسحاق وان لم يصرح بذلك الجاحظ الذى يذكر الفيلسوف فى كتاب « الحيوان » باسم يعقوب بن الصباح الأشعث تارة ، وباسم أبى يوسف بن اسحاق الكندى تارة أخرى ، ويشهد لذلك وصف الكندى الفيلسوف بالبخل عند من جاء بعد الجاحظ من المؤلفين كابن النديم

على أن الجاحظ فى تشنيعه على الكندى تند منه كلمات تشعر بإقراره بعقل الرجل وعلمه ، وأنه ينقم منه الشح بالطعام ، وترويج ذلك الشح

فهو يقول فى مقدمة كتابه : « . . . وذكرت ملح الحزامى واحتجاج الكندى ، ورسالة سهل بن هارون ، وكلام ابن غزوان . وخطبة الحارثى . . . ولم احتجوا مع شدة عقولهم بما أجمعت الأمة على تقبيحه ، ولم فخروا مع اتساع معرفتهم بما أطبقوا على تهجينه : — ولم سخت نفس أحدهم بالكثير من التبر وشحت بالقليل من الطعم ، وقد يعلم : أن الذى منعه يسير فى جنب ما بذله ، وأنه لو شاء أن يحصل بالقليل مما جاد به أضعاف ما بخل كان ذلك عتيداً ويسيراً موجوداً[1] »

ويروى الجاحظ فى بخل الكندى القصة الآتية :

« وحدثنى عمرو بن نهيوى قال : تغديت يوماً عند الكندى فدخل عليه رجل كان له جاراً ، وكان لى صديقاً فلم يعرض عليه الطعام ونحن نأكل ، وكان أبخل من خلق الله ، قال : فاستحييت منه فقلت : سبحان الله لو دنوت فأصبت معنا مما نأكل ، قال : قد والله فعلت ، فقال الكندى : ما بعد الله شىء قال عمرو فكتفه والله كتفا لا يستطيع معه قبضاً ولا بسطا ، وتركه ولو مد يده لكان كافراً ، ولكان قد جعل مع الله جل ذكره شيئاً[2] »

كان الكندى رجلاً منصرفاً إلى جد الحياة ، عاكفاً على الحكمة ينظر فيها إلتماساً لكمال نفسه ويقوم بأول محاولة لتوطيئها ومدافعة ما يعوق قومه عن الاقبال عليها من العصبية الجنسية ، والعصبية الدينية وقد يكون ذهابه إلى أن يونان بنو عمومة للعرب من وسائله لتهدئة ثائرة العرب على علوم العجم ، كما كانت له وسائل للتوفيق بين الدين والعلوم الحكمية مدافعة لنفرة المسلمين من هذه العلوم

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(١) البخلاء ص — ١ ، ٢ ، ٣ —

(٢) البخلاء ص — ٦٥ —

ويقول ظهير الدين البيهقى فى كتابه « تاريخ[1] الحكماء » : « وقد جمع فى بعض تصانيفه بين أصول الشرع وأصول المعقولات »

كان الكندى هادئاً فى حياته أخذا بأسباب الاقتصاد والنظام وسياسة النفس ومجاهدة شهواتها ومن حكمه المأثورة : « اعص الهوى ، وأطع ما شئت » ، « لا تنجو مما تكرهه حتى تمتنع عن كثير مما تحب وتريد » ، « ان النظر فى كتب الحكمة اعتياد النفوس الناطقة » البيهقى

وروى له الشهرزورى[2] : « من ملك نفسه ملك المملكة العظمى ، واستغنى عن المؤن ، ومن كان كذلك ارتفع عنه الذم ، وحمده كل واحد ، وطاب عيشه » ، « ولو أفسد أحد أحسن أعضائه كان مذموماً ، وأشرف الأعضاء الدماغ ومنه الحس والحركة ، وسائر الأفعال الشريفة ، ومستعملو السكر يدخلون الفساد على أدمغتهم ، ومتى توالى السكر على بدن مرض دماغه واشتد ضعفه ، وبعد عن القوة الممدة للأفعال الارادية والنفسانية »

وما كان ذلك ليعجب الجاحظ الضاحك الساخر العايش عيشة الأدباء من غير نظام ، ولا حدود ، ولا اقتصاد

وتمثل حياة الجاحظ حكاية يحكيها عن نفسه فى كتاب البخلاء فيقول : « صحبنى محفوظ النقاش من مسجد الجامع ليلا فلما صرت قرب منزله وكان منزله أقرب إلى مسجد الجامع من منزلى سألنى أن أبيت عنده ، وقال أين تذهب فى هذا المطر والبرد ؟ ومنزلى منزلك ، وأنت فى ظلمة ، وليس معك نار وعندى لبأ لم ير الناس مثله ، وتمر ناهيك به جودة ، لا تصلح إلا له ، فملت معه فأبطأ ساعة ثم جاءنى بجام لبأ ، وطبق تمر ، فلما مددت قال : يا أبا عثمان إنه لبأ وغلظه وهو الليل وركوده ، ثم ليلة مطر ورطوبة ، وأنت رجل قد طعنت فى السن ولم تزل تشكو من الفالج طرفاً ، وما زال

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(١) ص ١٨

(٢) نزهة الأرواح ص ١٧٥

الغليل يسرع إليك ، وأنت فى الأصل لست بصاحب عشاء ، فان أكلت اللبأ ولم تبالغ كنت لا آكلا ولا تاركا ، وحرشت طباعك ثم قطعت الأكل أشهى ما كان إليك ، وإن بالغت بتنا فى ليلة سوء من الاهتمام بأمرك ، ولم نعد لك نبيذاً ولا عسلاً ، وإنما قلت هذا الكلام لئلا تقول غدا : كان وكان ، والله قد وقعت بين نابى أسد ، لأنى لو لم أجئك به وقد ذكرته لك قلت : بخل به وبدا له فيه ، وإن جئت به ولم أحذرك منه ، ولم أذكرك كل ما عليك فيه ، قلت : لم يشفق علىّ ، ولم ينصح ، فقد برئت إليك من الأمرين جميعاً وإن شئت فأكلة وموت ، وإن شئت فبعض الاحتمال ونوم على سلامة

فما ضحكت قط كضحكى تلك الليلة ، ولقد أكلته جميعاً فما هضمه إلا الضحك والنشاط والسرور فيما أظن ، ولو كان معى من يفهم طيب ما تكلم به لأتى علىّ الضحك أو لقضى على ولكن ضحك من كان وحده لا يكون على شطر مشاركة الأصحاب[١]

لا جرم كان الجاحظ يسخر من الكندى ويشنع عليه لبعد ما بين طباعيهما ، وبعد ما بين سبلهما فى الحياة

وكان الجاحظ بصرياً وكان الكندى كوفياً ، وبين أهل البلدين عداوة ، وتنافس ، والجاحظ معتزلى ، ولم يكن يسلم من لدغاته إلا من تحرم بحرمة الكلام

وفى كتاب الحيوان[٢] : « وسمع رجل ممن قد نظر بعض النظر تصويب العلماء لبعض الشكاك باجراء ذلك فى جميع الأمور حتى زعم : أن الأمور كلها يعرف حقها من باطلها بالأغلب وقد مات ولم يخلف عقباً واحداً يدين بدينه ، فلو ذكرت إسمه مع هذه الحال لم أكن أسأت ، ولكنى على كل حال أكره التنويه بذكر من تحرم بحرمة الكلام ، وشارك المتكلمين فى أسماء الصناعة ، ولا سيما إذا كان ممن ينتحل تقديم الاستطاعة »

والكندى لم يكن ممن تحرم بحرمة الكلام ، بل هو قد ألم به فى أول أمره مسايرة لحكم الوقت ثم انصرف عنه إلى الفلسفة

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(١) ص — ١٠٣ ، ١٠٤ —

(٢) ج ٦ ص ١١

ولم يكن الكندى ممن يخافهم الجاحظ عند ما كتب كتاب البخلاء

يقول الجاحظ فى مقدمة الكتاب : « وقد كتبنا لك أحاديث كثيرة غير مضافة إلى أربابها ، إما بالخوف منهم وإما بالاكرام لهم »

ويظهر : أن الجاحظ ألف كتاب « البخلاء » فى أخريات حياته بالبصرة وهو مريض ما بين سنتى ٢٥٤ ، ٢٥٥ كما استنتجه Van Vloten فى مقدمته لطبعة ليدن ، وقد توفى الكندى قبل ذلك التاريخ كما سيأتى تحقيقه

ولم يكتف الجاحظ باشاعته حديث البخل مكبراً عن الكندى فى كتابه « البخلاء » بل ألف رسالة فى فرط جهل الكندى

ولعل تشنيع الجاحظ هو أساس لكل ما تناقل الرواة من بعده

فابن النديم صاحب الفهرست يقول عن الكندى : « وكان بخيلا »

ويقول ابن نباتة فى سرح العيون : « ومن نوادره وكلامه فى البخل : كان يقول : أنك تقول للسائل : لا ورأسك إلى فوق ، ومن ذل العطاء : أنك تقول : نعم وأنت رأسك إلى أسفل . وكان يقول : سماع الغناء برسام جاد لأن الانسان يسمع فيطرب فينفق فيسرف فيفتقر فيغتم فيعتل فيموت . . . .

ومن وصيته لولده : « يا بنى كن مع الناس كلاعب الشطرنج تحفظ شيئك وتأخذ من شيئهم ، فان مالك إذا خرج عن يدك لم يعد إليك ، واعلم : أن الدينار محموم فاذا صرفته مات ، واعلم : أنه ليس شىء أسرع فناء من الدينار إذا كسر والقرطاس إذا نشر ، ومثل الدرهم كمثل الطير الذى هو لك ما دام فى يدك فاذا ند عنك صار لغيرك ، وقال المتلمس :

قليل المال تصلحه فيبقى ولا يبقى الكثير مع الفساد
لحفظ المال خير من فناه وسير فى البلاد بغير زاد

وأعرف هنا بيتا بيت أكثر من مائة ألف فى المساجد ، وهو قول القائل :

فسر فى بلاد الله والتمس الغنى تعش ذا يسار أو تموت فتعذرا

فاحذر يا بنى أن تلحق بهم »

أما ابن أبى أصيبعة فيروى ما نصه[١] :

« ومن كلامه مما أوصى به لولده أبى العباس نقلت ذلك من كتاب « المقدمات » لابن بختويه ، قال الكندى : يا بنى الأب رب ، والأخ فخ ، والعم غم ، والخال وبال ، والولد كمد ، والأقارب عقارب ، وقول : لا ، يصرف البلا ، وقول : نعم ، يزيل النعم ، وجماع الغناء برسام حاد ، لأن الانسان يسمع فيطرب ، وينفق فيسرف ، فيفتقر فيغتم ، فيعتل فيموت ، والدينار محموم فان صرفته مات ، والدينار محبوس فان أخرجته فر ، والناس سخرة فخذ شيئهم واحفظ شيئك ، ولا تقبل ممن قال اليمين الفاجرة فانها تدع الديار بلاقع

أقول : وإن كانت هذه من وصية الكندى ، فقد صدق ما حكاه عنه ابن النديم البغدادى فى كتابه ، فانه قال : أن الكندى كان بخيلا »

ولا يكتفى ابن نباتة بما نسبه من الوصايا السخيفة للكندى ، بل هو يجعل فيلسوف الاسلام رجلاً أحمق متكلفاً سخيفاً ، فهو يروى فى كتابه :

« وقال يوماً لجارية كان يهواها : إنى أرى فرط الاعتياصات من المتوقعات على طالبى المودات مؤذنات بعدم المعقولات فنظرت إليه وكان ذا لحية طويلة فقالت : أن اللحى المسترخيات على صدور أهل الركاكات محتاجة إلى المواسى الحالقات »

هكذ يبلغ العبث بالتاريخ حداً يشوه من خلق الكندى ، ومن عقله ، وقد كان الرجل فى خلقه ، وفى عقله من أعظم ما عرف البشر يقول « ده بوير » فى دائرة المعارف الاسلامية عند ترجمته للكندى : أن « كوردان » Curdan وهو فيلسوف من فلاسفة النهضة La Renaissance يعد الكندى واحداً من إثنى عشر هم أنفذ الناس عقلا . وأنه كان فى القرون الوسطى يعتبر واحداً من ثمانية هم أئمة العلوم الفلكية

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[١] طبقات الأطباء ج — ١ — ص — ٢٠٩ —

وذكر المسعودى فى « مروج الذهب[١] » شيئاً من آراء الكندى فى تأثر العالم بالأشخاص العلوية :

« وقد قال يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى فى بعض رسائله فى أفعال الأشخاص العلوية والاجرام السماوية فى هذا العالم : أن جميع ما خلق الله صير بعضه لبعض عللا ، فالعلة تفعل فى معلولها آثار ما هى لديه علة ، وليس يؤثر المفعول المعلول فى علته الفاعله والنفس علة الفلك لا معلولة له ، فليس يؤثر الفلك فيها أثراً ، إلا أن من طباع النفس : أن تتبع مزاج البدن إذا لم تجد شيئاً ، كما هو موجود فى الزنجى الذى حمى موضعه فأثرت فيه الأشخاص الفلكية ، جذبت الرطوبات إلى أعاليه ، فأجحظت عينيه ، وأهدلت شفتيه ، وأفطست أنفه وعظمته ، وأشالت رأسه بكثرة جذب الرطوبات إلى أعالى بدنه ، فخالف بذلك مزاج دماغه عن الاعتدال ، فلم تقدر نفسه على إظهار فعلها فيه بكمال ففسد تمييزه ، وأخرجت الأفعال العقلية منه »

ولئن كان الكندى قد اشتغل بالتنجيم القائم على ربط الحوادث الأرضية بحركات النجوم ، وعوارض الأفلاك ، ومطالع الكواكب وألف الكتب التى كان لها يومئذ شأن عظيم ، فانه اشتغل أيضاً بالأبحاث الفلكية العلمية ، وظهر تميزه فى هذه الأبحاث لعهده وبعد عهده ، واقتبس من مذاهب الهنود مالم يكن مقتبساً فى فنون العرب الفلكية من قبله ، وكانت له آراء طريفة بناها على أرصاده وحسابه بنفسه

وأسعده فى ذلك تبحره فى الرياضيات ، والهندسيات

والشهرزورى يجعل الوصف الأول للكندى : كونه مهندساً وكذلك يفعل البيهقى ، فهما يقولان :

« يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى كان مهندساً ، خائضاً غمرات العلم »

وكان كما يقول « ده بوير » مولعاً بتطبيق الرياضيات لا فى العلم الطبيعى وحده ،

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[١] طبعة باريس جـ ١ ص ١٦٤

بل فى الطب أيضاً ، فهو مثلا يفسر عمل الأدوية المركبة بالتناسب الهندسى الحادث من مزاج صفاتها الحسية ، أى الحرارة ، والبرودة ، واليبوسة ، والرطوبة .

وجاء فى كتاب « الفهرست[١] » مما يدل على غرام الكندى بتطبيق الرياضيات :
« وقال الكندى : القلم على وزن نفاع ، لأن الفاء ثمانون والنون خمسون ، والألف واحد ، والعين سبعون ، ذلك مائتان وواحد ، والقلم ، الألف واحد ، واللام ثلاثون ، والقاف مائة واللام ثلاثون والميم أربعون ، فذلك مائتان وواحد »

وقد يدل على هذه النزعة إلى تطبيق الرياضيات على الطب والعلاج : ما يرويه المترجمون للكندى : من أنه كان يجعل من اللحون الموسيقية طبـاً لبعض الأمراض ، وعلم الموسيقى كان يومئذ معتبراً فرعاً من فروع العلوم الرياضية ، وكان الكندى عالماً بالموسيقى وبالطب ، وله فيهما مؤلفات

روى صاحب كتاب « أخبار الحكماء[٢] » : وقد ذكروا من عجيب ما يحكى عن يعقوب بن إسحاق الكندى هذا : أنه كان فى جواره رجل من كبار التجار ، موسع عليه فى تجارته ، وكان له ابن قد كفاه أمر بيعه وشرائه ، وضبط دخله وخرجه ، وكان ذلك التاجر كثير الازراء على الكندى ، والطعن عليه ، مدمنا لتعكيره والاغراء به فعرض لابنه سكتة فجأة ، فورد عليه من ذلك ما أذهله ، وبقى لا يدرى ما الذى فى أيدى الناس ، وما لهم عليه ، مع ما دخله من الجزع على ابنه ، فلم يدع بمدينة السلام طبيباً إلا ركب إليه ، واستركبه لينظر ابنه ويشير عليه من أمره بعلاج ، فلم يجبه كثير من الأطباء لكبر العلة ، وخطرها إلى الحضور معه ، ومن أجابه منهم فلم يجد عنده كبير غناء فقيل له : أنت فى جوار فيلسوف زمانه ، وأعلم الناس بعلاج هذه العلة ، فلو قصدته لوجدت عنده ما تحب فدعته الضرورة إلى أن يحمل على الكندى بأحد إخوانه ، فثقل عليه فى الحضور ، فأجاب ، وصار إلى منزل التاجر ، فلما رأى ابنه وأخذ مجسه أمر بأن

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(١) ص ١٠

(٢) ص — ٢٤٦ ، ٢٤٧ —

يحضر إليه من تلامذته فى علم الموسيقى من قد أنعم الحذق بضرب العود ، وعرف الطرائق المحزنة ، والمزعجة ، والمقوية للقلوب والنفوس ، فحضر إليه منهم أربعة نفر ، فأمرهم أن يديموا الضرب عند رأسه وأن يأخذوا فى طريقة أوقفهم عليها ، وأراهم مواقع النغم بها من أصابعهم على الدساتين ! ونقلها ! فلم يزالوا يضربون فى تلك الطريقة والكندى أخذ مجس الغلام وهو فى خلال ذلك يمتد نفسه ، ويقوى نبضه ، ويراجع إليه نفسه شيئاً بعد شىء إلى أن تحرك ثم جلس وتكلم ، وأولئك يضربون فى تلك الطريقة دائماً لا يفترون ، فقال الكندى لأبيه : سل ابنك عن علم ما تحتاج إلى علمه ممالك وعليك واثبته ، فجعل الرجل يسأله وهو يخبره ، ويكتب شيئاً بعد شىء ، فلما أتى على جميع ما يحتاج إليه غفل الضاربون عن تلك الطريقة التى كانوا يضربونها ، وفتروا ، فعاد الصبى إلى الحال الأولى وغشيه السكات ، فسأله أبوه : أن يأمرهم بمعاودة ما كانوا يضربون به ، فقال : هيهات إنما كانت صبابة قد بقيت من حياته ، ولا يمكن فيها ما جرى ، ولا سبيل لى ولا لأحد من البشر إلى الزيادة فى مدة من قد انقطعت مدته ، إذ قد استوفى العطية والقسم الذى قسم الله له »

عنى الكندى بالكيمياء فيما عنى به من العلوم ، ووضع فيها مصنفات وذكر فى بعض رسائله ، تعذر فعل الناس لما انفردت الطبيعة بفعله وخدع أهل هذه الصناعة وجهلهم ، وأبطل دعوى الذين يدعون صنعة الذهب والفضة ، وترجم الكندى هذه الرسالة : « بابطال دعوى المدعين صنعة الذهب والفضة من غير معادنها » وقد نقض هذه الرسالة على الكندى « أبو بكر محمد بن زكريا الرازى »

وقد ذكر « أبو القاسم صاعد » فى كتابه « طبقات الأمم[1] » عن الكندى عند ذكر تصانيفه : أنه كان مع تبحره فى العلم يأتى بما يصنفه مقصراً ، فيذكر مرة حججاً غير قطعية ، ويأتى مرة بأقاويل خطابية وأقاويل شعرية ، وأهمل صناعة التحليل التى لا تحرر قواعد

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[1] ص — ٥٢ —

المنطق إلا بها ، وأن يكن جهلها فهو نقص عظيم ، وإن يكن ضن بها فليس ذلك من شيم العلماء ، وأما صناعة التركيب التى قصدها فى تواليفه فلا ينتفع بها إلا المنتهى الذى هو فى غنى عنها بتبحره فى هذا النوع »

قال ابن أبى أصيبعة فى « طبقات الأطباء[1] » : أقول هـذا الذى قاله القاضى « صاعد » عن الكندى ، فيه تحامل كثير عليه ، وليس ذلك مما يحط من علم الكندى ، ولا مما يصد الناس عن النظر فى كتبه والانتفاع بها »

ورأى « ابن أبى أصيبعة » فى الكندى وتآليفه يبينه بقوله : « وترجم من كتب الفلسفة الكثير ، وأوضح منها المشكل ، ولخص المستصعب ، وبسط العويص » ويقول القفطى فى الكندى مثل ذلك

ولسنا ندرى ، كيف يقولون : أن الكندى أهمل صناعة التحليل فى المنطق ؟ ، مع أنا نجد فى أسماء كتبه تفسيرات ، وشروحاً ، على « أنولوطيقا » — البرهان — وعلى « أنولوطيقا » — تحليل القياس — ولم يترك الكندى قسما من أقسام المنطق لم يعرض له بالشرح والبيان ، وبالاختصار أحياناً ، فلعل تلك الكتب لم يتصل إلى بالقاضى « صاعد » علمها ، فكتب ما كتب ، ويؤيد ذلك : أن « صاعدا » ذكر : أن عدد كتب الكندى نحو خمسين ، على حين يبلغ بها غيره ١٥٠ ، بل قيل : هى ٢٦٥ كتاباً

والكندى صاحب مؤلفات فى « الجغرافيا » فقدت فيما ضاع من كتبه لكنها كانت مرجعاً لمن جاء بعده من المؤلفين ، وكانت تظهر فيها آثار اطلاعه الواسع وفكره العميق ، ونجد فى كتب المسعودى نماذج منها

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فيما أسلفنا دليل على أن أحاطة الكندى بكل أنواع المعارف التى كانت لعهده على اختلافها أحاطة تدل على سعة مداركه ، وقوة عقله ، وعظم جهوده . وقد ألف فى كل

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(١) جـ — ١ — ص — ٢٠٨ —

تلك العلوم كتباً ورسائل يشهد ما عرف منها ، وما تنوقل من مقتطفاتها بما للكندى من استقلال فى البحث ، ونظر ممتاز

وإذا كنا لا نعرف للكندى مصنفات فى العلوم الدينية فان فى بعض مؤلفاته آثاراً من معرفته بعلوم الدين بل هو قد عالج مسائل علم الكلام وكتب فيها

أما شأنه فى الفلسفة فهو أهم شؤونه ، ومظهر عبقريته ، ومناط الخلود لاسمه فى ثنايا التاريخ

والكندى يقول عن الفلسفة فيما روى عنه ابن نباتة المصرى :

« (علوم الفلسفة) ثلاثة : فأولها العلم الرياضى فى التعليم وهو أوسطها فى الطبع

والثانى — علم الطبيعيات وهو أسفلها فى الطبع

والثالث — علم الربوبية وهو أعلاها فى الطبع

وإنما كانت العلوم ثلاثة ، لأن المعلومات ثلاثة : أما علم ما يقع عليه الحس وهو ذوات الهيولى ، وأما علم ما ليس لذى هيولى أما أن يكون لا يتصل بالهيولى البتة وأما أن يكون قد يتصل بها

فأما ذات الهيولى فهو المحسوسات ، وعلمها هو العلم الطبيعى وأما أن يتصل بالهيولى ، فان له انفراداً بذاته كعلم الرياضيات التى هى : العدد ، والهندسة والتنجيم ، والتأليف . وأما لا يتصل بالهيولي ألبتة ، وهو : علم الربوبية[1]

وقد كان هذا المنحى فى فهم معنى الفلسفة وتقسيمها باعتبار الموضوع توجيها للفلسفة الاسلامية منذ نشأتها

والكندى هو الذى وجه الفلسفة الاسلامية وجهة الجمع بين أفلاطون وأرسطو ، وهو الذى وجهها فى سبيل التوفيق بين الفلسفة والدين

وليس فيما بين أيدينا من آثار الكندى ما يمكننا من استخلاص مذهبه الفلسفى نسقا كاملا

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(١) سرح العيون ص — ١٢٥ —

ويقول بعض مترجميه كابن نباتة : أنه حذا حذو أرسطو . ويقول « ابن أبي أصيبعة » : احتذى فى تآليفه حذو أرسطوطاليس

ويورد له الشهرزورى أقوالاً كلها بسط لآراء أفلاطون منها : « أما أفلاطن فانه قال : أن مسكن الأنفس العقلية إذا تجردت كما قالت الفلاسفة القدماء خلف الفلك فى عالم الربوبية حيث نور البارى وليس كل نفس تفارق البدن تصير من ساعتها إلى ذلك المحل ، لأن فى الأنفس ما يفارق البدن وفيها دنس وأشياء حسنة ، فمنها : ما يصير إلى فلك عطارد فيقيم فيه مدة ، فاذا تهذبت ونفت ارتقت إلى عالم العقل وجازت الكل فصارت فى أجل محل لا تخفى عليها خافية وواصلت نور البارى تعالى وصارت تفكر فى الأشياء قليلها وكثيرها كعلم الواحد بأصبعه الواحده وصارت الأشياء كلها لها مكشوفة وبارزة فحينئذ يفوض البارى إليها من سياسة العالم أشياء تلتذ بها وبعقلها والتدبير لها »

ولعل الشهرزورى يشير بذلك إلى أيثار الكندى لأفلاطون

والأشبه أن يكون الكندى قد بنى مذهبه على ما صح فى نظره من الآراء المختلفة من غير تقيد بما نسب لأفلاطون ولا بما نسب لأرسطو بيد أنه كان بلا شك يراهما أمامى هذا الشأن ، فهو كما يقول « ده بوير » « بحق ، كان من أهل الترجيح والتخير وقد سار على نهجه أكثر من بعده من فلاسفة الاسلام

الكندى هو « فيلسوف العرب » كما فى كتاب « أخبار الحكماء » وكتاب « طبقات الأطباء » ولم يكن فى الاسلام من اشتهر عند الناس بمعاناة علوم الفلسفة حتى سموه فيلسوفا غير يعقوب هذا » وفى الفهرست : « وسمى فيلسوف العرب »

ويقول ابن نباتة : « الكندى هو يعقوب بن الصباح المسمى فى وقته فيلسوف الاسلام »

والكندى كان جديراً بهذه التسمية فى وقته وسيظل بها جديراً ، فانه أول عربى مسلم مهد للفلسفة سبيل الانتشار بين العرب وفى ظل الاسلام فقد كان أمر الترجمة من قبله

لنقلة حرصهم على الترجمة الحرفية مع ضعف بيانهم العربى بجعل تراجمهم رموزاً يستعصى حلها حتى جاء الكندى يترجم بنفسه ويصلح هذه التراجم ليسهل تناولها ولكيلا تنفر من أساليبها أذواق العرب ثم درس الكندى هذه الكتب المترجمة ويسر من موضوعاتها ما كان معسراً ، واختار ما صح من آرائها فى نظره فبسطه إن كان محتاجاً لبسط ولخصه إن كان محتاجاً لتلخيص وجاهد كما بينا من قبل فى تزيين الفلسفة فى أعين العرب جهاداً مكللا بالنصر بذل فيه كل ما يستطيع إنسان أن يبذله من نعيم الحياة وجاهها وصبر فى سبيل ذلك على أذى أشرنا إلى بعضه فيما مضى

والكندى هو الذى وجه الفلسفة الاسلامية فى وجهتها فسارت فى سبيلها على أيدى تلاميذه ومن أخذ عن تلاميذه

وقد أورد صاحب الفهرست أسماء تلاميذ الكندى بقوله : « تلاميذ الكندى ووراقوه[1] : حسنويه ونفطويه وسلمويه وآخر على هذا الوزن ومن تلامذته : أحمد ابن الطيب ونذكره فيما بعد ، وأخذ عنه أبو معشر »

وذكر فى موضع آخر[2] : « دبيس تلميذ الكندى هو محمد بن يزيد . . . . »

وفى ذلك دلالة على أن تلاميذ الكندى لم يعرف عددهم على استقصاء ، كما غاب عنا أسماء من تلقى عنهم ضروب العلم المختلفة

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بقى أن البيهقى قال فى كتابه « تاريخ حكماء الاسلام » عن الكندى : « واختلفوا فى ملته فقال قوم : [كان] يهودياً ثم أسلم ، وقال بعضهم كان نصرانياً »

وقال الشهرزورى فى « نزهة الأرواح » : « وقيل : كان يهودياً ثم أسلم ، وقيل : كان نصرانياً »

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(١) ص — ١٦١ —

(٢) ص — ٣٥٩ —

ويلاحظ : أن المؤلفين كليهما لم يذكرا للكندى نسبا إلا أنه يعقوب بن إسحاق ، وليس فى الاسمين ما يميز ملته

فدل ذلك على أنهما خلطا بين أبى يوسف يعقوب بن إسحاق الأشعثى وبين كندى آخر ولا يستحق هذا الاشتباه إلا أن ينبه إليه . وفى كتابى البيهقى والشهرزورى أخطاء تاريخيه كثيرة ظاهرة البطلان عند الكلام على غير الكندى وفى النسخ التى بين أيدينا منهما تحريفات كثيرة ، على أنه لا يبعد أن تكون هذه الأضاليل من آثار ما كان يدسه على الكندى خصومه تشويها لذكره وتشنيعاً عليه

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هذا وقد ذكر صاحب كتاب « أخبار الحكماء » سبب موت الكندى بقوله :
« قال أبو معشر : وكانت علة يعقوب بن إسحاق أنه كان فى ركبته خام وكان يشرب له الشراب العتيق فيصلح ، فتاب من الشراب وشرب شراب العسل فلم تنفتح له أفوا العروق ولم يصل إلى أعماق البدن وأسافله شىء من حرارته ، فقوى الخام فأوجع العصب وجعاً شديداً حتى تأتى ذلك الوجع إلى الرأس والدماغ فمات الرجل لأن الأعصاب أصلها من الدماغ »

أما تاريخ وفاته فلم يعرض لذكره أحد عرفناه ممن ترجموا له من الأقدمين وقد حاول المحدثون أن يحددوا ذلك التاريخ من سبيل الاستنباط فمنهم : من جعل موته سنة ٢٤٦ ﻫ ٨٦٠ م كالأستاذ « مسنيون » فى نصوصه الصوفية ، ومنهم : من جعله نحو سنة ٢٦٠ ﻫ ٨٧٣ م كالأستاذ « نالينو » فى محاضراته فى الفلك وتاريخه عند العرب فى القرون الوسطى

ويقول « ده بوير » فى دائرة المعارف الاسلامية : أن الكندى كان يعيش سنة ٢٥٧ ﻫ ٨٧٠ م حيث اعتقد أنه يستطيع أن يؤكد للخلافة العباسية وهى يومئذ ممهدة بالقرامطة وبتصادم كواكب بقاء يدوم حوالى ٤٥٠ عاماً

وقد نقلنا فيما سبق عن الفهرست : ما يثبت أن الكندى نسخ كتاباً بخطه سنة ٢٤٩ رآه ابن النديم . وفى تاريخ الطبرى عنـد الكلام على موت المنتصر بالله سنة ٢٤٨ والتشاور فى تعيين خلفه : أن محمد بن موسى المنجم سعى فى دفع الخلافة عن أحمد بن المعتصم لأنه صاحب الكندى الفيلسوف

كل هذا يباعد رأى الأستاذ « مسنيون »

ثم أن الجاحظ المتوفى سنة ٢٥٥ ﻫ يذكر ما ذكره عن الكندى فى كتابيه « الحيوان » و « البخلاء » فى صيغة الماضى الدالة على أن الكندى كان ميتاً حين كتب كتابه ، وكتاب « البخلاء » مؤلف على الراجح سنة ٢٥٤ ﻫ وكتاب « الحيوان » سابق عليه فالكندى لم يكن حياً فى سنة ٢٥٤ ﻫ ولا فى سنة ٢٥٣ ﻫ إن صح أن الجاحظ كتب « الحيوان » فى هذه السنة

وتدل رسالة الكندى فى ملك العرب وكميته على أنه شهد عهد الخليفة المستعين وشهد الفتنة التى قتل فى أعقابها المستعين آخر رمضان سنة ٢٥٢ فالراجح : أن الكندى توفى فى أواخر سنة ٢٥٢

أوزان الشعر وقوافيه

فى العربيـة والفارسيـة والتركية

لعبد الوهاب عزام

١ — القوافى

سأجمل فى هذا المقال الكلام فى الأوزان وأشكال النظم فى العربية والفارسية والتركية راجياً أن أعود اليها فى مقال آخر بالبحث فى قواعدها وأسباب تطورها .

الشعر الجاهلى كله فى التقفية ضربان : الرجز المشطور وما عداه . فالأول شطور مقفاة لا يلتزم فيها استقلال بعضها عن بعض كما يلتزم فى أبيات القصيد والرجز التام . والثانى القصيد والرجز غير المشطور . وتقفيته فى آخر الأبيات فقط أى بعد كل شطرين ، إلا الأبيات المصرعة فى مطلع النظم ؛ يقفى شطراها جميعاً . وقد نسب إلى امرىء القيس من شعراء الجاهلية ضرب من النظم يسمى المسمط له نظام آخر فى قوافيه . وهو نظم مقسم ، فى كل قسم منه ثلاث شطرات أو أربع متفقة فى الروى ويأتى الشطر الرابع أو الخامس منفرداً برويّه موافقاً لنظائره فى القصيدة كلها . وسيأتى الكلام فيه . ومما نسب إلى أمرىء القيس :

توهمت من هند معالم أطلال   عفاهن طول الدهر فى الزمن الخالى

مرابع من هند خلت ومصايف
يصيح بمغناها صدى وعوازف
وغيرها هوج الرياح العواصف
وكل مسف ثم آخر رادف
بأسحم من نوء السماكين هطال

ومستلئم كشفت بالرمح ذيله
أقمت بعضب ذى سفاسق ميله

فجعت به فى ملتقى الخيل خيله
تركت عتاق الطير تحجل حوله
كأن على سرباله نضح جريال

وتنوعت التقفية فى الشعر الاسلامى منذ القرن الثانى الهجرى وظهر التوشيح فى القرن الثالث . وقد افتن فيه المغاربة افتناناً يضيق به الحصر . وإذا قصرنا الكلام على أنواع القوافى التى جرت فى اللغة الفصيحة ضاربين صفحاً عن الأزجال وأشباهها من الأوزن العامة ، أمكن أن نرد ضروب الشعر من حيث نظام التقفية إلى هذه الأنواع :

الموحد القوافى ، والمزدوج ، والرباعى أو الدوبيت ، والمسمط ، والموشح .

١ — فالقصائد والأراجيز ذات القافية الموحدة أو الروى الواحد هى النظام الأصيل والسنة المتبعة فى الشعر العربى من أقدم عصوره المعروفة إلى العصر الحاضر . ولم يعرف ضرب آخر طوال الجاهلية إلا ما يعزى إلى أمرىء القيس كما تقدم ، ولم يعرف كذلك فى الشعر الاسلامى والأموى . وإنما ظهرت الضروب الأخرى فى أواخر القرن الثانى الهجرى مع ابان بن عبد الحميد ف ٢٠٠ . وفى القرن الثالث مع ابن المعتز وشعراء الأندلس . وما زال الضرب الأول أشيع الضروب ، وأكثرها دوراناً فى الشعر حتى لا يعرف أحد من أعلام الشعر فى العصر العباسى وما بعده اتخذ غيره أداة للبيان فيما يهمه من الشعر وحتى لا يحيد عنه شعراء العربية فى عصرنا هذا إلا قليلا .

وكذلك نظم فيه شعراء الفرس ، وتبعهم شعراء الترك إلى العهد الحاضر ، ولكنهم تركوا الرجز المشطور ، وقسموا ما عداه من ذوات الروى الموحد إلى قسمين : القصيد والغزل . فخصوا اسم القصيدة بمنظومة طويلة لا تقل عن ثلاثين بيتاً ولا تزيد على مائة غالباً . وخصوا اسم الغزل بمنظومة قصيرة تتراوح بين سبعة أبيات وخمسة عشر غالباً وموضوعه الغزل أكثر الأحيان ويكون أحياناً غرضاً آخر من أغراض الشعر . ويلتزم الشاعر ذكر لقبه الشعرى أو تخلصه ، كما يقول الفرس والترك ، فى آخر بيت من الغزل .

ب — والمزدوج هو النظم المؤلف من أزواج من الأشطر كل اثنين منها متفقان فى الروى مستقلان عما عداهما . ويسمى فى اصطلاح الشعر الفارسى والتركى ، المثنوى . وقد نظم به فى العربية القصص ككتاب كليلة ودمنة والصادح والباغم ، والتاريخ كأرجوزة ابن عبد ربه فى غزوات عبد الرحمن الناصر ، وكتب العلوم كالألفية فى النحو .

وأولع به شعراء الفرس والترك فنظموا المنظومات الطويلة القصصية كالشاهنامة ومنظومات نظامى الكنجوى وعبد الرحمن الجامى وسنائى والعطار والرومى وغيرهم من شعراء الفرس ، وكمنظومات فضولى ونابى وشيخى والشيخ غالب من شعراء الترك العثمانيين ، وعلى شيرنوائى فى لغة چغتاى .

ويظن بعض المؤلفين أن هـذا الضرب من النظم فارسى لولع الفرس به ولأنه عرف فى شعر طلائع شعرائهم فى القرن الثالث الهجرى كأبى جعفر الرودكى[1] . وقد روى دولتشاه أنه وجد على قصر شيرين أيام عضد الدولة بن بويه بيت فارسى شطراه مقفيان . ولكن لا أرى الدليل وافياً بالدعوى . وجائز أن يكون الشعر المزدوج نشأ فى الشعر العربى محاكاة لمطالع القصائد والأبيات المصرعة فى أثنائها ، ومحاكاة لمشطور الرجز مع تغيير الروى فى شطرين بعد شطرين . وقد سبق إلى الشعر المزدوج أبان بن عبد الحميد اللاحقى الذى نظم كليلة ودمنة وغيره على هذا الأسلوب . وإذا نظرنا إلى أن أقدم المثنويات الفارسية كليلة ودمنة الذى نظمه الرودكى لم نبعد أن يكون الرودكى قد تقيل أبان بن عبد الحميد .

ج — وأما الرباعى أو الدوبيت فأحسبه نظاماً فارسياً . واسمه فى العربية يدل على ذلك ، وقد سبق الفرس العرب إليه ، وافتنوا فيه افتناناً وفرعوا منه ٢٤ ضرباً . ولم يأبه له كبار الشعراء من العرب كثيراً . ويروى شمس الدين محمد بن قيس الرازى

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(١) أكبر شعراء الفرس فى القرن الثالث توفى سنة ٣٢٩ ونظم كليلة ودمنة .

فى كتاب المعجم[١] أن بعض شعراء الفرس ، ويظنه الرودكى ، اخترع الرباعى حين مر فى يوم عيد على صبية يلعبون ضرباً من اللعب بالجوز وفيهم غلام صبيح نشيط ألقى جوزة فلم تستقر فى الحفرة وخرجت منها ثم تدحرجت حتى رجعت إليها فصاح الغلام :

غلتان غلتان همى رود تابنِ كو

فأعجب الشاعر هذا النغم وما زال يعالجه حتى بنى عليه أنغام الرباعى

ويقول المؤلف نفسه : « ولأن الزحاف المستعمل فى هذا الوزن لم يعرف فى الشعر العربى القديم لم ينظم شعر عربى فى هذا الوزن ثم أقبل عليه الآن المحدثون المطبوعون فشاعت الرباعيات العربية فى بلاد العرب كلها وتداولتها الألسنة[٢] » . والمؤلف من رجال القرن السابع . فهذا ثبَت أن الرباعيات عرفت بين العرب بعدتداولها بين العجم بزمن طويل . ولعل من أقدم الرباعيات ما جاء فى ديوان ابن الفارض ومنها :

ما جئت منى أبغى قرى كالضيف
عندى بك شغل عن نزول الخيف
والوصـل يقينـاً منـك ما يقنعـنى
هيهـات فدعنى من محال الطيف

* * *

يا ليـلة وصل صبحهـا لم يلح
من أولهـا شربتـه فى قدحى
لمـا قصرت طالت وطابت بلقـا
بدر محنى فى حبـه من مِنَحى

ولولا أن للدوبيت وزناً ممتازاً عن الأوزان العربية المألوفة لاحتمل أن يكون شعراء العربية قد اخترعوه محاكاة للبيتين الأولين من كل قصيدة مصرعة المطلع .

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(١) ص ٨٩ المعجم فى معايير أشعار العجم ، بيروت سنة ١٣٢٧ هـ .
(٢) = ص ٩٠ .

فمعظم القصائد العربية تبدأ برباعية مؤلفة من البيت الأول والثانى ، ولكن هذا الوزن الخاص ، إلى الرواية التى قدمنا وتاريخ هذا النظم فى الفارسية والعربية ، يشهد بأنه فارسى النشأة .

وفى الشعر التركى ضرب من التقفية كالرباعى يسمى « تيوغ » . ومن أمثلته قول عطائى من شعراء القرن التاسع :

دوست ! جسمم ملكنه سلطان يتر
بو يرونغى آنك بكا فرمان يتر
جان دخى تن ملكنه حكم ايتمسون
چون براقليمه همان برخان يتر

وقد تقفى شطراته كلها على نمط واحد كما يقع فى الرباعى الفارسى أحياناً كقول سيد نسيمى :

حق تعالى وارلغى آدمه‌در
أو آنك در أول بوأوده دمه‌در
بيلمدى شيطان بوسرى غمه‌در
أو سببدن تا أبد مأتمه‌در

وقد أخذ شعراء الترك الرباعى الفارسى ودرجوا عليه فى وزنه وقافيته فهذا الضرب (تيوغ) إما أن يكون محاكاة لهذا الرباعى فى وزن آخر وإما أن يكون فرعاً من المسمط يوافق الرباعى فى القافية أحياناً . وسنبين فى الكلام عن المسمط عامة أهو نظام تركى أم لا .

ومثل « تيوغ » ضرب يسمى مانى فى أغانى العامة بالتركية العثمانية مثل :

آلتين طاسده بوغوردم
غم ايچنده بوغولدم
آنا بلك بوكولسون
دردايچونمى دوغوردك

*
* *

أقشام أولدى ايكيندى
موم شامدانه ديكيلدى
ايللرك يارى كلدى
بنم بونم بوكولدى

*
* *

أويله مى حالم فلك
ديل بيلمز ظالم فلك
كسدك جان باغچه سندن
ايكى نهالم فلك
الخ . الخ .

د — المسمط : قدمنا فى أول المقال أبياتاً ينسبها بعض المؤلفين إلى امرىء القيس ويسمونها مسمطة . وقد نظم شعراء العربية المتأخرين كثيراً من هذا النوع مربعاً ومخمساً . فالمربع قصيدة مقسمة كل قسم منها أربعة أشطر الثلاثة الأولى متفقة فى الروى ، والرابع مخالف لها موافق لنظائره فى القصيدة كلها ، ومنه ما رواه صاحب لسان العرب فى مادة (سمط) :

خيال هاج لى شجنا فبت مكابدا حزنا
عميد القلب مرتهنا بذكر اللهو والطرب
الخ .

وكثير منه فى مقامات الحريرى .

والمخمس قصيدة كل قسم منها خمسة أشطر على هذا النظام . وأكثر ما يكون بناء على قطعة من ذوات القوافى الموحدة يأخذها الشاعر فيزيد قبل كل بيت ثلاثة أشطر موافقة للشطر الأول من هذا البيت فى الروى فيبقى الخامس مخالفاً الشطرات الأربع

التى تسبقه موافقاً لكل شطر خامس فى القصيدة . وقد أولع به الشعراء المتأخرون فخمسوا البردة ، وبانت سعادة وكثيراً من القصائد المعروفة .

والمسمط فى الفارسية وفى التركية لا يخالف هذا فى قاعدته ولكنه أكثر فروعاً فقد تزيد شطرات الأقسام حتى تبلغ العشر ، فعندهم المسدس والمسبع والمثمن والمتسع والمعشر ، ولكن غير المربع والمخمس والمسدس نادر ، وفرق آخر أن المسمط تكون رابطته بيتاً لا شطراً أحياناً ، أعنى أن الشاعر قد يجعل مكان الأشطر التى تختم بها الأقسام والتى تربط المنظومة كلها باتفاقها فى الروى ، يجعل مكانها بيتاً يوافق فى روى شطريه نظائره من الأبيات التى تختم بها الأقسام . وقد يكون بعض المسمطات مؤلفاً من أقسام ذات أشطر متفقة فيما بينها مخالفة لغيرها دون أن يكون فيها رابطة من شطر أو بيت على النسق الذى بينت .

ومن أمثلته فى الفارسية مسمط ميرزا داورى من رجال القرن الثالث عشر الهجرى :

يك چند جدا أزبرم آن شوخ پسر بود
أزوى نه نشان بود مرا ونه خبر بود
با موكب منصور همانا بسفر بود
أز حسرت أو آتش شوقم بجگر بود
روزم زغم هجر سيه تر زشب تار

*
* *

دوشينه همان زأول شب ناشده پاسى
زنگى شب أفگنده برخ تيره پلاسى
با قير بيندوده وپوشيده لباسى
مه بر سر گردون شده چون سيمين طاسى
آمد زدر آن دلبر بى ترس وهراسى
بكباره ببرد أزدل من أنده وتيمار

الخ . (١) .

وقد سار الترك على أثر الفرس فى المسمط أيضاً ولكنهم زادوا تقسيمهم المسمط إلى

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(١) Drowne, *Litt. His. of Persia*. Vol. IV, p. 301-319.

مزدوج ومتكرر . فالأول هو ما تقدم بيانه ، والمتكرر هو ما كانت الرابطة فيه شطراً أو بيتاً واحداً مكرراً بعينه بعد كل قسم . وهذا الضرب يُلفى فى الفارسية قليلاً ولـكن لا يسمى باسم خاص ومثال المسمط المتكرر فى التركية هذا المخمس لنابى (ف سنة ١١٢٤) :

بو كلستانده بمچون نه گل نه شبنم وار
بو چارشوده نه داد وستد نه درهم وار
نه قدرت ونه تصرف نه بيش ونه كم وار
نه قوت ونه تعين ونه زخم ومرهم وار
بو كارخانه ده بيلسه م نه يم ، بنم نم وار

*
* *

وجود وجود الهى ، حيات بخش كريم
نفس عطيـهٔ رحمت ، كلام فضل قـديم
بدن بنـاى خـدا ، روح نفخهٔ تكريم
قوا وديعهٔ قـدرت ، حواس وضع حكيم
بو كارخانه ده بيلسه م نه يم ، بنم نم وار
الخ .

ويرى دارس الآداب التركية النظم المسمط شائعاً فى التركية الشرقية والغربية فى منظومات الشعراء وأغانى العـامة حتى يحسب أنه أسلوب أصيل عندهم ، ملائم لطباعهم . ففى ديوان لغات الترك ، الذى ألفه محمود بن الحسين الكاشغرى سنة ٤٦٦ ﻫ وهو أقدم معجم فى اللغة التركية بل أقدم الـكتب فى هذه اللغة — نرى كل الشواهد فى منظومات مربعة . وهى فى لهجات ببعد أن يكون للعربية والفارسية تأثير فى نظمها مثل :

يرتى يشل جش
سقر دى أرنك قش
تزلدى قرا قُش
تُن كُن أوزا يركنور[1]

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[1] ديوان لغات الترك جـ ١ ص ٢٧٧ ط استانبول .

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كلدى برو أرترو
بيردى ايلن أرترو
منـدا قلب ألترو
بكرى بُلب أُن بُتار(١)

وديوان حكمت لأحمد يسوى (ف ٥٦٢) المكتوب كله بلهجة چغتاى معظمه مربعات متكررة أو مزدوجة :

أول بلبل نى آوازينى ايشتكان لار
تكبر نى با غين كيسور أوشاتكا نلار
بو دنيا نى مزاسينى اونو تغا نلار
فرياد أوروب بيغلاب كوزين گريان قيلور

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عاشق قول لار بو دنيـا نى كوزكا ايلماس
دنيـا عشقين زاهد قل لار تيل كا آلماس
كيچه كوندوز مست وحيران أوزكا كيلماس
ديدار تيلاب كوكسين تيشيب نالان قيلور

وقصة يوسف وزليخا التى ألفها شاعر بخارى اسمه على وانتهى نظمها فى ٣٠ رجب سنة ٦٣٠ كلها مربع واحد متصل الأقسام على الأسلوب الذى وصفنا آنفاً .

وكل أساليب النظم العاميّة فى التركية (مانى ، وارصاغى ، قوشمه ، دستان ، توركو) على نسق المسمط . ومعظمها مربعة .

فهذا دليل على أن هذا الضرب من التقفية قديم فى المنظومات التركية ، أصيل فيها ، ولكن لا يبعد أن يكون بعض أشكاله محاكاة للأسلوب الفارسى .

هـ — الموشح وتركيب بند وترجيع بند : عرف الموشح فى الشعر العربى أواخر

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(١) = ص ١٨٨ .

القرن الثالث الهجرى ، اخترعه فى الأندلس مقدم بن معافر الفريرى من شعراء الأمير عبد الله بن محمد المروانى[1] . وعبد الله هذا هو الأمير السابع من بنى أمية فى الأندلس حكم ما بين ٢٧٥ — ٣٠٠ . وظهر كذلك بالمشرق فى شعر ابن المعتز . والظاهر أنه انتقل إلى المشرق من الأندلس .

وقد افتن الشعراء فى الموشحات ، وصاغوا منها أغانى كثيرة حتى كثرت ضروبه ، واختلفت أساليبه ، ثمّ خرجوا ببعضه عن منهاج العربية نحوها وعروضها فكان الزجل وأفانينه . ولا يتسع المجال هنا لتفصيل القول فى الموشحات . وجملة القول أن الموشح فى أقدم صيغة منظومة مقسمة ، فى كل قسم أشطر متفقة فى الروى يعقبها بيت يوافق فى روى عروضه وضربه نظائره فى المنظومة كلها . أو فى كل قسم أبيات ذات أعاريض متفقة روياً وأضرب كذلك ، يفصلها بيتان عروضهما على روى واحد وكذلك ضرباهما فى المنظومة كلها .

ومن الأول موشحة ابن المعتز (٢٤٧ — ٢٩٦) :

أيها الساقى اليك المشتكى   قد دعوناك وان لم تسمع
ونديم همت فى غرته   وبشرب الراح من راحته   كلما استيقظ من سكرته
جذب الزق اليه واتكى   وسقانى أربعاً فى أربع
ما لعينى عشيت بالنظر   أنكرت بعدك ضوء القمر   واذا ما شئت فاسمع خبرى :
عشيت عيناى من طول البكا   وبكى بعضى على بعضى معى
الخ .

ومن الثانى موشحة ابن سهل الاسرائيلى المتوفى ٦٤٩ :

هل درى ظبى الحمى أن قد حمى   قلب صب حله عن مكنس
فهو فى حر وخفق مثلما   لعبت ريح الصبا بالقبس

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[1] ابن خلدون — المقدمة .

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يا بدورا أشرقت يوم النـوى غرراً تسلك بى نهج الغرر

ما لنفسى فى الهوى ذنب سوى منكم الحسن ومن عينى النظر

أجتنى اللذات مكلوم الجوى والتـدانى من حبيبى بالفكر

كلما أشكوه وجـدى بسما كالربى بالعـارض المنبجس

اذ يقيم القطر فيها مأتماً وهى من بهجتها فى عرس

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غالب لى غالب بالتـؤده بأبى أفديه من جاف رقيق

ما علمنـا مثـل ثغر نضـده أقحواناً عصرت منـه رحيق

أخذت عينـاه مـنى العربده وفؤادى سكره ما أن يفيق

فاحم اللمـة معسول اللمـا ساحر الغنـج شهى اللعس

وجهـه يتـلو الضحى مبتسماً وهو من إعراضـه فى عبس

الخ .

وقد افتن علم الدين ايدمر من شعراء القرن السابع فى الموشحات افتناناً لم يسبق إليه فليرجع إلى ديوانه المطبوع فى القاهرة سنة ١٣٥٠ هـ.

والموشح على هذه الشاكلة لم يألفه شعراء الفرس والترك . وعند الفرس اصطلاح للتوشيح هو أن يكون كل بيت فى القصيدة مشتملاً على جملة فاذا أخذت هذه الجمل بعضها مع بعض تألفت منها قصيدة أخرى على وزن آخر . ولهم فيه ضروب مختلفة وقد خطوا خطوطاً تبين الجمل التى يمكن تأليف بعضها على بعض فصارت لهم أشكال من الخطوط مختلفة ، بعضها على أشكال الطائر ويسمونه المطيّر ، وبعضها على أشكال عجيبة تجعل القصيدة أشبه بالنقش منها بالكتابة . وهو ضرب من اللعب لا يؤبه له فى الشعر .

وأقرب الأساليب إلى الموشح العربى أسلوب يسمى البند وهو قسمان : ترجيع بند وتركيب بند . وذلك أن تقسم المنظومة إلى أقسام (خانات) فى كل قسم أبيات مقفاة الأضرب فقط على النسق المألوف فى القصائد لا على نسق الموشحات . وبعد كل قسم

بيت يكرر بعينه فى المنظومة كلها فتسمى «ترجيع بند» أو يكرر رويّه فقط فى الأُقسام الأخرى فتسمى المنظومة «تركيب بند» . والعرف فى ذلك ألا تزيد الأُقسام على عشرة ولا تنقص عن خمسة وأن تكون الأبيات فى كل قسم ثمانية أو عشرة .

وهذا هو الذى استقر عليه الاصطلاح فى القرون الأخيرة . وتعريف المعجم للترجيع يشمل ما سماه المتأخرون «ترجيع بند» و «تركيب بند» ولا يلزم فيه أن تتفق الوسائط ، وهى الأبيات التى تربط الأُقسام ، فى رويها .

ولا يتسع المجال هنا لنماذج من التركيبات والترجيعات .

و — وفى الشعر الفارسى والتركى أسلوب من النظم يسمونه المستزاد . وهو أن يزاد بعد كل شطر من منظومة شطر قصير لا يتوقف عايه المعنى . وهذه الأشطر القصيرة تأتلف على روى مستقل عن روى القصيدة ولكن على نظامه ، أو يكون كل شطر منها على روى الشطر الطويل الذى قبله .

فمن الأول مستزاد خواجو الكرمانى من شعراء القرن الثامن :

گر نيست كه گويد زمن آن ترك خطارا	گر رفت خطائى
باز آى كه داريم توقع بتو مارا	با وعده وفائى
منداز بنام من دلسوخته فلفل	بر آتش رخسار
كافتا دم أزآن دارنۀ مشكين تو يارا	در دام بلائى
أمروز منم چون خم أبروى تو درشهر	ما نند هلالى
تاديده ام آن صورت انگشت نمارا	انگشت نمائى

الخ .

ومن الثانى مستزاد كچه جى زاده عزت منلا من الشعراء العثمانيين (١٢٠٠ — ١٢٤٥) :

بلبل يتشير با غريمى خون ايتدى فغانك	ضبط ايله دهانك
خنجر گبى دلدى يوره كم تيغ زبانك	تأثير لسانك
آه ايله مكه با شلادى آيانه بوحالت	نولسون بوحرارات

بيلمم ينه بر درديمى وار بلبل جانك   أول مرغ نهانك
آه ايتسه توله بلبل دل مشهدم أوزره   تا محشر أولونجه
چوق چكدى غم خاربنى گلزار جهانك   بو باغ فنـانك
الخ .

وليس فى العربية لهذا نظير ، ويشبه بعض الموشحات مثل :

كحل الدجى يجرى   من مقلة الفجر   على الصبـاح
ومعصم النهـر   فى حلل خضر   من البطاح[1]

وللحريرى فى مقاماته قصيدة أحسبها كانت محاولة للنظم على هذا الأسلوب فى الشعر العربى :

يا خاطب الدنيا الدنية   انهـا شرك الردى   وقرارة الأكدار
دار متى ما أضحكت   فى يومها أبكت غدا   يالؤمها من دار
الخ[2].

ز — الرديف : ومن صيغ التقفية فى الفارسية والتركية ما يسمى الرديف وليس لذلك نظير فى العربية . وهو أن تكرر كلمة أو أكثر فى آخر كل بيت من القصيدة فتلغى فى التقفية وتسمى رديفا وتلتزم قبل هذا الرديف قافية وروى . وذلك شائع جداً فى الشعر الفارسى والتركى : ومن أمثلته قول حافظ الشيرازى (ف ٧٩١) :

يا رم چو قدح بدست گيرد   بازار بتان شكست گـيرد
در بحر فتادهام چو ماهى   تا يار مرا بشست گـيرد
در پا ش فتا ده أم بزارى   آ يا بود آنكه دست گـيرد
هركس كه بديد چشم أو گفت   كو محتسبي كه مست گـيرد
خرم دل آنكه همچو حافظ   جامى زمىِ «ألست» گـيرد

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[1] مقدمة ابن خلدون . — [2] المقامة الشعرية .

٢ — الأوزان

سار شعراء الفرس على نهج شعراء العرب فى أكثر أوزانهم . واستخرج علماء العروض الفارسى من دوائر العروض العربى كل الأوزان الفارسية حتى الرباعيات والفهلويات . ولكن وزن الرباعيات والفهلويات فيما يظن لا يرجع إلى الأوزان العربية .

نظم الشعراء الرباعيات على أربعة وعشرين وزناً متشابهة ، وأرجعها العروضيون كلها إلى الهزج ولكن لا ريب أن معظمها ، على رغم هذه الرابطة العروضية ، لا يشبه الهزج . وقد روى صاحب المعجم[1] أن شاعراً فارسياً ، يحسبه الرودكى ، مر بغلمان يلعبون فى متنزّهات مدينة غزنه فسمع أحدهم يقول : غلتان غلتان همى رود تابُنِ كو ، فأعجبته النغمة وبنى عليها أوزان الرباعى كما تقدم . فهذا ، إن صح ، دليل على أن الوزن الرباعى فارسى المولد والمنشأ . ويقول هذا المؤلف : وسمى الملحن منه « ترانه » والمجرد « دوبيت » ، والمستعربة سموه « رباعياً » ، ولم يكن معروفاً فى الشعر العربى . والآن أقبل عليه المحدثون المطبوعون (من شعراء العرب) فانتشرت الرباعيات فى البلاد العربية كلها .

والدوبيت العربى مأخوذ من الأوزان الفارسية موافق لأوزان الرباعيات عند الفرس . ولا أعرف غير الدوبيت شعراً على هذا الوزن إلا قطعة فى ديوان البهاء زهير معروفة :

يا من لعبت به شمول — ما ألطف هذه الشمائل
نشوان يهزه دلال — كالغصن مع النسيم مائل
لا يمكنه الكلام لكن — قد حمل طرفه رسائل

الخ .

وكذلك الفهلويات فارسية الأصل ، فيما أظن . وهى قطع قصيرة تنظم فى بعض

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(١) المعجم ص ٨٩ .

اللهجات الفارسية ، ويستخرجها العروضيون من البحر المشاكل الذى فرعوه من دائرة الخفيف . ووزنه : فاعلاتُ مفاعيلُ مفاعيلْ مرتين .

وأما الأوزان الفارسية الأخرى فهى الأوزان العربية المعروفة أو مشتقة منها . وقد بعد بعض هذه المشتقات عن أصله حتى انقطع الشبه بينهما .

وفيما يلى إجمال التغيير الذى تقلبت فيه الأوزان العربية فى الشعر الفارسى وفى التركى تبعاً :

١ — أهمل شعراء الفرس كل بحور الدائرتين الأولى والثانية — أهملوا الطويل والمديد والبسيط والوافر والكامل . وهى أكثر الأوزان دوراناً فى الشعر العربى . وإنما نظم فيها بعض القدماء من شعراء الفرس تقيلاً لشعراء العرب وإظهاراً لمهارتهم كما نظم بعض العرب فى البحور المهملة التى تنتج أثناء تقطيع الدوائر العربية ، وفى المعجم أمثلة من النظم فى هذه البحور المهجورة[1].

٢ — واستخرجوا من الدوائر بحوراً أخرى لم يعرفها العرب ، فاشتقوا من الهزج الرباعى وجعلوا منه ٢٤ وزناً ، واشتقوا من دائرة السريع البحر الغريب ، والقريب والمشاكل . والنظم فيها قليل . يقول شمس الدين الرازى فى الكلام عن البحر الغريب ، ووزنه « فعلاتن فعلاتن مفاعلن » :

« وقد استحدث هذا البحر بعض المتكلفين من المستعربة ونظم فيه بضع أبيات عربية فتقيله شعراء العجم وأدخلوه فى دوائرهم » .

وكذلك أحدثوا بحوراً أخرى لم ينظم فيها أحد إلا للتمثيل أو امتحان الطبع وإظهار المقدرة وهى ٢١ بحراً منها الصريم والكبير والبديل ، والقليب الخ . ومعظمها مشتق من الدائرة المشتبهة فى الاصطلاح العربى .

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(١) المعجم ص. ٥٤ .

٣ — ولم يقفوا بعدد الأجزاء عند المأثور عن العرب بل تعدوه فأجازوا مثلاً فى الهزج وهو سداسى مجزوء وجوباً فى العروض العربى ، وفى الرمَل والرجز وهما سداسيان أن يكون كلّ منها ثمانياً . وجعلوا الدائرة الثانية فى تقسيمهم ثمانية أيضاً وفيها المنسرح والخفيف والمضارع والمقتضب والمجتث .

٤ — وتصرفوا بالزحافات والعلل أكثر مما فعل العرب فزادوا على الاثنين والعشرين المعروفة فى العروض العربى ثلاثة عشر سموها بأسماء تشبه الأسماء القديمة مثل الجدع ، والهتم ، والحجف ، والسلخ ، والطمس الخ . وقد بلغ من تصرفهم أن أجازوا أن تنتهى مفاعيلن مثلاً إلى مفعولن ، وفاعلن ، ومفاع ، ومفا ، وفاع ، وفا ، وأن تنتهى مفعولات إلى فع . وكذلك الزيادة تصرفوا فيها بما لم يعرفه العرب فأجازوا أن تحول مستفعلن مثلاً إلى مفتعلاتن الخ .

٥ — وهذا ما انتهى إليه المحققون من العروضيين فى ترتيب الدوائر :

معلوم أن الدوائر العربية مقسمة هذا التقسيم :

١ الدائرة المختلفة وفيها الطويل والمديد والبسيط
٢ « المؤتلفه « الكامل والوافر
٣ « المجتلبة « الهزج والرجز والرمل
٤ « المشتبهة « السريع والمنسرح والخفيف والمضارع والمقتضب والمجتث
٥ « المتفقة « المتقارب والمتدارك .

وقد حذف الفرس الدائرتين الأولى والثانية وأبقوا الثالثة وسموها المؤتلفة وأخذوا منها أنواع الرباعى ، وقسموا الدائرة الرابعة إلى دائرتين : المختلفة والمنتزعة . الأولى ثمانية والثانية سداسية . وأبقوا الخامسة باسمها فصار تقسيمهم كذلك :

١ الدائرة المؤتلفة وفيها الهزج والرجز والرمَل
٢ « المختلفة « المنسرح والمضارع والمقتضب والمجتث
٣ « المنتزعة « الخفيف والسريع والغريب والقريب والمشاكل
٤ « المتفقة « المتقارب والمتدارك .

وقد أخذ الترك العروض الفارسى جملته وتفصيله ، ولكن عندهم إلى هذا أوزان مقطعية تقاس بعدد المقاطع لا بالأجزاء أو التفعيلات . ونظم بهذه الأوزان أقدم الكتب فى اللغة الشرقية مثل « قدتغو بيلك » الذى نظمه فى اللهجة الأُيغورية يوسف خاص حاجب بغراخان ، سنة ٤٦٢ هـ. وهو مثنوىّ القافية ، وديوان حكمت لأحمد يسوى المتوفى سنة ٥٦٢ ، وهو من المسمط كما تقدم ، ورواية يوسف وزليخا التى ألفها شاعر بخارى إسمه على سنة ٦٣٠ وهى مربع . وهذه الأوزان المقطعية تشبه أوزان العروض بعض الشبه وان كان أساسها مخالفاً . ومن أجل ذلك سهل تغلب العروض عليها فيما بعد . فلما أخذت أوزان الفرس فى اللغة التركية العثمانية أو الغربية سارت الأوزان التركية القديمة والأوزان المستعارة معاً زهاء مائة سنة ثم اختفت الأولى من دواوين الشعراء واستمرت فى منظومات العامة وأغانيهم حتى عنى الترك بها مرة أخرى فى هذا العصر وآثرها كثير من شعرائهم على العروض الفارسى .

هذا إجمال الكلام فى صيغ القوافى والأوزان فى اللغات الثلاث . وأرجو ان أعود إليها بالبحث وتبيين آساسها ، والفوارق بينها ودرجات تطورها جهد الطاقة والله المستعان .

الأربعاء ١ نوفمبر سنة ١٩٣٣ .

UNIVERSITY OF EGYPT



BULLETIN

OF

THE FACULTY OF ARTS

VOL. I. PART 2

DECEMBER 1933

The Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts is issued twice a year,
in May and December. Price per copy 20 P.T. post free.
All communications are to be addressed
to the Hon. Sec. of the Editorial Board, Mr. Shafik Ghorbal,
Faculty of Arts, Giza, Egypt.

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LE POÈME DE MÉNÈS

PAR

VLADIMIR VIKENTIEV.

C'est un bien petit poème dont l'auteur ne doit être confondu, ni avec son illustre homonyme, le créateur de l'Égypte pharaonique, ni avec d'autres personnages portant le même nom. Le sieur Ménès possédait le titre de *smsw hꜣyt* «grand du hall» et on peut supposer qu'il vivait sous la IV^{e} dynastie. Son poème ne compte que dix lignes; mais il présente un certain intérêt du point de vue littéraire. Il est construit d'après les règles. Le style en est nettement enflé et fleuri. Il est riche en allitérations. Il est orné de métaphores, empruntées au règne animal et constituant des jeux de mots. Mais l'intérêt principal de ce poème de Ménès est ailleurs : il permet des aperçus nouveaux sur la question des rimes, qui, jusqu'à présent, n'a été que légèrement effleurée [(1)].

Il y a peut-être encore une autre raison de nous attacher à ce petit poème. Ce serait une raison d'ordre psychologique. Malheureusement, l'interprétation de la forme verbale, sur laquelle se fonde notre observation, ne saurait être considérée comme définitive. Force nous est donc de nous contenter de poser la question. Nous reviendrons sur ce point dans la seconde partie de notre article.

Voici le poème [(2)] :

ỉr rmṯ nb ỉr n·ỉ nw

n sp špt·f

ỉr m ḥmwty m ẖryty-nṯr

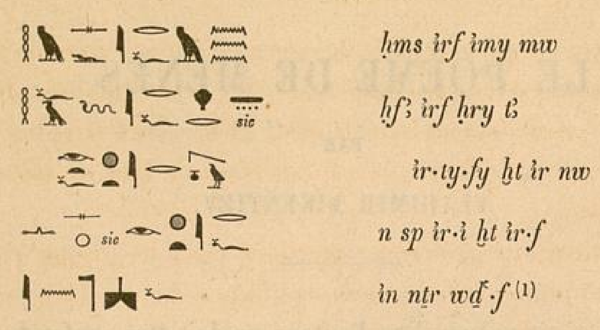
sḥtp·n·ỉ sw

smsw hꜣyt M n ỉ ỉḏḏ·f

---

(1) Voir K. Sethe, *Ein altägyptischer Fingerzählreim*, *Ä. Z.*, 54, 16-39.

(2) *Urk.*, I, 23.



Quiconque a fait ceci [2] pour moi,
Jamais ne sera mécontent.
Qu'il soit artisan ou carrier,
Je l'ai récompensé.

Le «grand du hall» Ménès, il dit :

Mais le crocodile-qui-est-dans-l'eau,
Mais le serpent-qui-est-sur-la terre,
Qui fera quelque chose contre ceci, [3]
Jamais je ne pourrai rien faire contre lui... [4]
C'est Dieu qui sera son juge!

Considérons tout d'abord l'aspect littéraire :

Le poème se compose de deux strophes contenant respectivement quatre et cinq vers. La différence du nombre des vers est provoquée par le dédoublement du premier vers de la deuxième strophe (i. e. «Mais le crocodile-qui-est-dans-l'eau» — «Mais le serpent-qui-est-sur-la terre»), la ligne correspondante du premier verset étant unique («Quiconque a fait ceci pour moi»). Les deux versets dépendent de la phrase «Le 'grand du hall' Ménès, il dit». Celle-ci ne se trouve pas en tête des deux stro-

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[1] Toutes les phrases constituant ce petit poème se retrouvent bien des fois dans d'autres textes gravés dans des tombeaux. A comparer, par exemple, ce texte : [...] *ìr ìs pn sḥtp·n·ì ḥmwtyw nb ìr n·ì kꜣt ìm·f* «en ce qui concerne cette tombe, j'ai récompensé tous les artisans qui ont fait pour moi du travail là» (voir *Urk.*, I, 271, l. 10). Ce qui nous intéresse actuellement, c'est *la manière dont ces phrases ont été combinées* par l'auteur, ou plutôt par le compilateur, de notre poème.

[2] I. e. la tombe.

[3] Cette fois-ci le mot *nw* signifie non seulement la tombe, mais encore le *wakf*. A comparer l'exemple à la page 158, l. 1.

[4] Voir p. 160, ann. 1.

phes, comme cela est d'usage pour des phrases introductives de ce genre, mais elle est placée entre ces dernières[1]. En dehors de cette différence, la construction est nettement symétrique, et les deux strophes se trouvent en pleine correspondance, ce qui fait ressortir tout de suite les mots mis en opposition.

L'auteur montre une préférence marquée pour le groupe *ỉr* et le son *r* qui se repètent plusieurs fois, dans sept lignes sur dix. Le groupe *ỉr*(*r*) est placé, tantôt au commencement du vers (l. 1 et 3), tantôt au milieu (l. 6-10). On retrouvera sans difficulté d'autres allitérations, d'usage moins général. Ce qui est intéressant, c'est qu'elles se rencontrent non seulement au milieu des vers, mais encore d'une manière suivie au commencement et à la fin. Dans ce cas elles prennent l'apparence de rimes, initiales et finales, et il se peut qu'elles doivent être considérées comme telles. On trouvera la liste des allitérations initiales à la fin de cet article. Celles qui se trouvent à la fin des vers sont comme suit :

N(*w*) t·*f* N(*tr*) *sw* d·*f*
M*w* tꜣ N*w* *rf* ḏꜣ(·*f*)

D'abord, guidé par les lettres en caractères identiques, on fera attention aux rimes dans chaque strophe séparément. Ensuite on notera, ligne par ligne, les correspondances existant entre les sons finaux des deux strophes. Pour faciliter la tâche, ces derniers ont été superposés. Enfin on remarquera que le son *w* et son équivalent *f* figurent huit fois sur dix comme sons finaux des lignes.

Si nous portons notre attention sur les sons initiaux, nous verrons qu'en tant qu'allitérations ces derniers se divisent en deux parties égales, disposées d'une manière parfaitement symétrique, que voici :

L. 5	*smsm* (*smsw*)	L. 6	(*ḥ*)*ms* (avec métathèse)
4	(*s*)*ḥ*(*t*)*p*	7	*ḥf*(ꜣ)
3	*ỉr*	8	*ỉr*(*ty·fy*)
2	*n-sp*	9	*n-sp*
1	*ỉr rmṯ*	10	*ỉn nṯr* (avec métathèse)[2].

---

[1] Voir p. 154, ann. 2.

[2] Pour l'allitération *m-n* il suffit de se rappeler le jeu des mots bien connu dans *Sinuhe : Sꜣ-nht* et *Sꜣ-mḥyt*, ou des allitérations symétriques telles que *Rnn-wtt mr·s ṯw* (*Pyr.*, 454 *c*), où *rnn* est l'inverse de *mr* et *wtt* est l'inverse de *ṯw*, etc.

Dans les vers 2 et 9 nous n'avons même plus qu'une allitération, à savoir, une repétition textuelle des mots *n sp*. On trouve au milieu les sons analogues *š(p)t* et *ḫt*[1]. En outre le vers 9 donne une paraphrase du vers précédent[2].

Un point fort intéressant est celui des mots mis en opposition. L'auteur mentionne deux groupes de personnages bienfaisants, dans la première strophe, et deux groupes (?) d'animaux nuisibles, dans la deuxième. On comprend bien que les artisans et les carriers sont des gens utiles; mais on se demande pour quelle raison le sieur Ménès en veut aux serpents et aux crocodiles. Il n'est pas question d'attaques de reptiles contre Ménès lui-même. Le défunt ne devait pas non plus craindre une agression de leur part dirigée contre sa tombe. Les crocodiles pouvaient-ils vraiment s'aventurer jusqu'aux côtes escarpées du désert? Cependant les reptiles étaient en état de nuire au *wakf* que le sieur Ménès devait avoir institué

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(1) La parenté de *š* et *ḫ* est trop connue pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'en parler ici davantage. Il suffit de se reférer à [hiéroglyphes] = [hiéroglyphes] «chose»; voir *Untersuchungen*, X, 187.

(2) Les allitérations initiales, que nous venons de signaler, présentent un type parfait de constructions symétriques. Dans les constructions littéraires de l'ancienne Égypte, celles-ci étaient d'un usage très fréquent. En guise de comparaison, en voici un autre exemple qui date de la même époque (voir *Urk.*, I, 9) :

nb imꜣḫ ḫr nṯr ʿꜣ	Le maître de respectabilité auprès du Grand Dieu,
irw·n·f sꜣ·f nw	Celui auquel son fils a fait ceci,
sk sw m ʾImntt	Tandis que lui se trouve dans l'Amenti,
ʾIḫi ḏd·f	Ikhi dit :
ir·n·i nw n it·i	J'ai fait ceci à mon père,
sk sw ḥp r ʾImntt ḥr wꜣwt nfrt	Tandis que lui se dirige vers l'Amenti par les belles routes,
ḥppt imꜣḫww ḥr·sn	Par lesquelles les respectables ont l'habitude de se diriger.

On prendra soin de noter que cet exemple diffère quelque peu de celui dont il est question dans cet article. Notamment la correspondance des vers y est comme suit :

```
1 ——— 7
2 >< 6
3    5
   4
```

La phrase *ḥr wꜣwt nfrt*, représentant une extension forcée de la ligne 6, ne doit pas être prise ici en considération.

pour l'entretien de son culte... Ceci est bien possible, mais, comme il arrive souvent dans de pareils cas, il ne faut pas insister sur le sens de la métaphore, celle-ci s'expliquant bel et bien par des jeux de mots.

Un pareil jeu de mots se trouve par exemple dans l'œuvre pessimiste, mentionnée à la fin de cet article. Là nous avons (*Pap. Millingen,* XII) les jeux de mots suivants : *mȝyw - wȝwȝyw* *msḥw - mḏȝyw* *sṯtyw - ṯsmw* (avec métathèse)[1] qui sont uniquement responsables du choix des métaphores[2].

Dans le poème de Ménès on retrouve un jeu de mots semblable, seulement ici leur genèse est plus compliquée. Ainsi 1° le mot *ḥmwty* a suggéré le mot *ḥms* (= *msḥ* avec métathèse)[3] et en même temps *m ḥmwty* a suggéré l'expression *imy mw;* 2° le mot *ḥryty,* avec omission du mot suivant (*nṯr*), a suggéré l'expression *ḥry tȝ,* qui, à son tour, a eu comme sujet le mot *ḥfȝ*[4].

Ainsi l'auteur d'abord va du sujet à l'attribut adverbial, et ensuite il revient de l'attribut au sujet.

Comme dans le cas précédent (*Millingen,* XII), les jeux de mots sont la seule raison d'être des deux adversaires de Ménès, ou plutôt les agresseurs contre son *wakf,* à savoir, le *crocodile-qui-est-dans-l'eau* et le *serpent-qui-est-sur-la terre.*

On pourrait s'étonner jusqu'à quel point l'auteur du poème avait poussé les procédés de rhétorique, si nous ne savions par ailleurs que ceci était bien dans les habitudes des scribes égyptiens. Ainsi nous voyons qu'à côté du crocodile est nommé le serpent. Il ne faut pas croire un

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[1] Les sons *m* et *w* peuvent s'interchanger (voir K. Sethe, *Verbum,* I, XVII). Il peut également exister une allitération entre *s* et *ḏ*.

[2] M. M. Malinine a tout dernièrement attiré l'attention sur le fait que les animaux en question n'étaient que des métaphores et que par conséquent on ne pouvait pas parler de chasses du pharaon Amenemhat au sens exact du mot (Voir *B. I. F. A. O.,* XXXIV, p. 63-74). Seulement il me semble qu'il ne faut pas prendre au sérieux les métaphores en question et en tirer des conclusions autres que d'ordre purement littéraire. Alors on verra que le parallélisme dans *Millingen,* XII, s'exprime non pas par la formule A : D = B : C, mais bien par la formule A : C = B : D.

[3] Nous retrouvons encore la métathèse du *ḥ* final dans le mot [hieroglyphs] *ḥsʿ* = *sʿḥ* (voir S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza,* 1929-1930, p. 18), [hieroglyphs] *ḥsȝ* = *sȝḥ* (Fl. Petrie, *Medum,* pl. XIII) et autres.

[4] Les allitérations *s-t, ḥ-ḫ, ȝ-i,* etc. sont bien connues.

seul instant que le scribe avait vraiment dans l'esprit l'image d'un reptile dangereux. Ce n'est que la combinaison de trois sons *ḥ-f-ꜣ* qui l'intéressait. Voilà comment il a obtenu la ligne dont le mot «serpent» fait partie. Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, *ḥry tꜣ* était produit par le mot *ẖryty* (*nṯr*). La particule adverbiale *irf* n'était qu'une simple répétition du même mot à la ligne précédente. Ces deux mots se suivaient ainsi : *ìRF ḤRy tꜣ*. En lisant les petites capitales en commençant par la fin, le scribe a obtenu le mot qui lui manquait *ḤFRÌ*[1]. Celui-ci en réalité n'existant pas, il lui a substitué son équivalent au point de vue de l'allitération *-ḥ f ꜣ !*

Quand on regarde tant d'artifices de rhétorique, on peut se demander si l'auteur pouvait faire preuve d'un vrai sentiment. Cependant gardons-nous bien de répondre trop vite par la négative. N'oublions pas que c'est de la poésie et, au surplus, de la poésie de l'ancienne Égypte. Tout au plus pourrions-nous dire que le sentiment de détresse dont nous avons cru pouvoir signaler l'expression, sous toutes réserves, dans l'avant-dernière ligne du poème de Ménès — nous en parlerons tout à l'heure — que ce sentiment serait trop calculé, trop rationnel. En cela, l'ancienne poésie de la vallée du Nil ne diffère en rien des portraits égyptiens, avec leur «sourire de sphinx» de stylisation pure. On se demande toujours, si c'est vraiment un mouvement de l'âme qui se reflète dans telle ou telle œuvre, soit poétique, soit plastique, ou si ce n'est qu'une apparence, un masque de sentiment, habilement modelé d'après des règles séculaires par des scribes et des sculpteurs impassibles.

L'avant-dernière ligne du poème de Ménès, notamment la phrase [hiéroglyphes], demande une attention toute spéciale. Cette phrase exprimant la négation de n'importe quelle action nuisible envers ses proches, combien de fois se rencontre-t-elle dans les inscriptions funéraires! Presque toujours dans tous ces cas, elle ne représente qu'une constatation banale de bonne conduite, et doit être traduite par le passé. Nous tâcherons de démontrer que l'auteur du poème de Ménès semble avoir voulu donner à la phrase en question une signification absolument différente en l'orientant vers l'avenir et en lui appliquant le cachet d'impuissance.

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[1] Pour pouvoir comprendre ce procédé, il faut se souvenir de la facilité avec laquelle les anciens Égyptiens se servaient d'allitérations symétriques, telles que *wp rꜣ-irpw*, etc.

Dans sa grammaire M. A. Gardiner a reservé un paragraphe spécial à la forme *n sp sḏm·f*[1]. Se basant sur l'idée que le mot [hieroglyphs] *sp* doit être considéré plutôt comme un verbe «avoir lieu» et non pas comme un substantif «occurence», il en propose une nouvelle interprétation. D'après M. A. Gardiner la forme en question devrait être traduite textuellement comme suit : «It did not occur that he should hear». En appliquant son interprétation à la phrase [hieroglyphs] nous serions obligés de la traduire ainsi : «Il n'est pas arrivé que je fasse une (mauvaise) action contre lui».

On pourrait objecter que la forme du verbe «faire» demandée par la construction *n sp sḏm·f* n'est pas celle que nous trouvons dans le poème de Ménès, mais bien [hieroglyphs] *iry·i*, tandis que [hieroglyphs] *ir·i*, qui est employée, convient à la forme *n sḏm·f*, sans le mot [hieroglyphs] *sp*. A comparer les exemples suivants :

[hieroglyphs] *n sp iry·i ḫt ḏw r ḫt nt rmṯ nb*

«je n'ai jamais fait rien de mauvais contre la propriété de n'importe quels gens»[2].

[hieroglyphs] *n sp iry·i ḫt nb m wsr [r] rmṯ*

«je n'ai jamais rien fait par violence contre les hommes»[3].

Mais il ne serait pas prudent d'insister davantage sur ce point. On pourrait facilement l'expliquer par une simple omission de la terminaison [hieroglyphs] *y*. En effet, nous trouvons d'autres exemples, exactement du même genre, où cette dernière fait défaut. A comparer :

[hieroglyphs] *n sp ir·i šnnt rmṯ nb*

«je n'ai jamais rien fait qui pourrait importuner les gens»[4].

En traitant la forme verbale *n sp sḏm·f* M. A. Gardiner n'a pas manqué de noter qu'il existe des cas, extrêmement rares il est vrai, où celle-ci a un sens futur. A l'appui de cette thèse, il cite l'exemple suivant [hieroglyphs] *n sp m3·k* qu'il traduit «never shalt thou see»[5].

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(1) A. Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 456. — (2) *Urk.*, I, 49. — (3) *Ibid.*, I, 50. — (4) *Ibid.*, I, 46. — (5) *Op. cit.*, § 455, 3.

Un heureux hasard nous a conservé une variante du poème de Ménès. Elle se trouve gravée sur la fausse porte d'un inconnu, conservée actuellement au Musée Britannique. Je le donne ici *in extenso*[1].

ỉr·n·ỉ nw ḥr tꜣ ḥr ḥḳt

ỉr·ty·fy ẖt r nw.

ḥms rf [ỉmy mw]

[ḥfꜣ] ỉ[r]f ḥry t·ꜣ

n ỉr·n·ỉ ẖt dw r t(= *r·f? [r] rmṯ?*)[2]

Dans cette variante, on retrouve toutes les lignes que l'on connaît déjà d'après le poème de Ménès. Elles sont incomplètes, mal disposées et leur compréhension ne devient possible que lorsque nous les comparons avec ce dernier. Mais cela ne nous importe point ici. Ce qui est essentiel, c'est que le fragment anonyme renferme une ligne qui semble projeter une certaine lumière sur l'interprétation de la phrase qui nous concerne. Notamment, au lieu de la phrase nous y trouvons (à lire ?). On voit donc que l'auteur de l'inscription anonyme du Musée Britannique avait employé dans le cas semblable, au lieu de la forme *n sp sḏm·f* la forme *n sḏm·n·f.* Or les deux formes ont ceci de commun qu'elles expriment — la première par exception et la seconde d'une manière très fréquente — *l'impossibilité* d'une certaine action, censée se produire, soit dans le présent, soit dans l'avenir, Ainsi l'exemple cité par M. A. Gardiner, *n sp mꜣ·k* (*ỉw pn ḫpr m nwy*) (*Naufragé,* l. 153-154) et que nous avons reproduit plus haut, a clairement ce sens et, à notre avis, doit être traduit comme suit : «*tu ne pourras* jamais revoir (cette île, parce qu'elle va se transformer en eau)»[3].

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[1] *Urk.*, I, 226.

[2] K. Sethe (*l. l.*) suggère une telle traduction : «nicht giebt es einen dem ich schlechtes getan habe».

[3] A. Gardiner lui-même cite l'exemple que voici : *n ỉn·tw drw ḥmt* qu'il traduit ainsi «the limit of art cannot be attained». Il mentionne encore *Pap. Ermitage 1116* A, l. 93 : *n... ḳn·tw·f.* Toutefois dans les deux cas il se demande, si ce n'est pas là en réalité la forme *n sdm·n·tw·f* (*op. cit.*, § 455, 4).

Le fragment du Musée Britannique, renfermant la forme *n sḏm·n·f* pourra donc être traduit ainsi :

> J'ai institué ceci en pain et en bière.
> Celui qui fera quelque chose (de mauvais) contre ceci,
> Notamment, le crocodile-qui-est-dans-l'eau,
> Notamment, le serpent-qui-est-sur-la terre,
> *Je ne pourrai rien faire de mauvais contre lui...*

D'accord avec la traduction de la dernière ligne de ce fragment, reproduite en italiques, je suis tenté d'interpréter l'avant-dernière ligne du poème de Ménès, à savoir, la phrase *n sp ỉr·ỉ ḫt ỉr·f*, également comme ayant trait à une action ne pouvant pas se produire dans l'avenir et de la rendre par les mots suivants : «Jamais *je ne pourrai* rien faire contre lui».

L'élément d'impuissance dans un vieux texte est une chose assez inattendue et forme un contraste frappant avec l'attitude énergique que se donnent les morts dans l'ancienne Égypte, en portant à la connaissance de ceux qui attaqueraient leur sépulture, qu'ils tomberaient sur eux comme des oiseaux sauvages, sans compter qu'ils les traduiraient par devant le tribunal du «Bon Dieu».

Cette note de *vouloir* et de *pouvoir* défendre soi-même sa demeure éternelle contre n'importe quelle attaque, semble donc être inconnue à Ménès. Il tombe dans la résignation. Il ne lui reste que l'espoir suprême «C'est Dieu qui sera son juge» (i. e. le juge de l'agresseur présumé). C'est du pessimisme encore voilé, mais, tout de même, c'est là du pessimisme.

L'apparition d'un petit poème de ce genre, précisément à l'époque de la IV^e dynastie, qui a vu la création des œuvres colossales de Gîza, ne doit pas nous étonner. Le mal ne se produit pas tout d'un coup, et souvent le premier malaise se fait sentir au milieu du triomphe. Pour le moment l'esprit de résignation, dont ce Ménès semble avoir fait preuve, pouvait passer inaperçu. Ce n'est que beaucoup plus tard, à l'époque du Moyen Empire, que nous voyons les idées pessimistes en pleine floraison. Mais alors elles n'émanaient pas seulement des pauvres hères, comme notre «grand du hall», et elles ne se cachaient pas au fond des sépultures. Elles étaient proclamées ouvertement par le souverain lui-même [1].

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[1] Voir les «Instructions d'Amenemhat» (*Pap. Millingen, Ä. Z.*, 1896, p. 35-49).

Toutefois il ne faut pas oublier que l'exemple présumé de pessimisme à l'époque de la IVe dynastie, que nous venons de signaler, présente actuellement un cas unique dans son genre, et en outre qu'il repose sur une certaine interprétation d'une forme verbale [1]. Nous ferons donc bien de terminer notre article en disant, qu'en ce qui concerne le côté philosophique du poème de Ménès, nous sommes pour le moment en présence d'une intéressante hypothèse demandant une double confirmation, à savoir, 1° du point de vue de la grammaire et 2° du point de vue de l'histoire de la psychologie égyptienne.

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[1] Il ne faut pas perdre de vue que la traduction de l'avant-dernière ligne du poème de Ménès, telle que nous l'avons formulée, ne présente qu'une certaine *possibilité*, sans être absolument obligatoire, la phrase en question [hiéroglyphes] pouvant être traduite aussi d'une autre manière : «Je n'ai jamais fait rien (de mauvais) contre lui».

AN ACCOUNT OF EGYPT

BY DIODORUS THE SICILIAN,

BEING THE

FIRST BOOK OF HIS UNIVERSAL HISTORY

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

W. G. WADDELL.

PART II[1]

XLII The first of the Books of Diodorus having, on account of its bulk, been divided into two, the first of these sections contains a preface to the whole treatise, the Egyptian traditions of the creation of the world and the primal formation of the universe; further, of all the gods who founded in Egypt cities called after their names, of the first race of men and life in the most ancient times, of the worship of the immortal gods and the building of temples; next, of the topography of the land of Egypt and the marvels that are told of the River Nile, the causes of its rising and the explanations given by historians and philosophers, as well as the refutation of each of these theories. 2 In the second section I shall continue in detail the account already begun. I begin with the first kings who reigned in Egypt, and I shall relate the deeds of each in turn down to the reign of King Amasis, after having previously summarized the most ancient way of life in Egypt.

XLIII In the most ancient times the Egyptians are said to have lived on herbs, and the stems and roots of plants that grow in the marshes, making trial of each through its taste. Then first and chiefly they added to their diet

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[1] The first part of this translation appeared in the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* : Vol. I, Part 1.

the herb called *agrostis*[1], a plant of extraordinary sweetness which offers
2 ample nourishment to men. It is also observed to be beneficial to cattle, as it quickly increases their bulk. Remembering the boon bestowed in this herb, the Egyptians even at the present day, when they approach the gods, hold a piece of it in their hand as they pray. For they believe that man is a creature of swamps and marshes, judging by the smoothness of his skin and other physical qualities, and also from the fact that
3 he needs moist, rather than dry, food. As a second type of diet, the Egyptians, they say, ate fish which were furnished in abundance by the river, especially at the time when it was sinking and drying up after the
4 inundation. Similarly, too, they ate the flesh of certain of their fatted beasts, and clothed themselves in the hides of the animals they ate. They built houses out of reeds. The traces of this practice still persist among the herdsmen of Egypt: down to the present day, it is said, they all know no other type of house than that made of reeds, and they are content to
5 make this serve. After having for many ages lived on this diet, they turned at last to edible fruits of the earth, among which was bread made from lotus[2]. The discovery of these fruits is ascribed by some to Isis,
6 by others to an ancient king named Menas. According to the priests' legends Hermes[3] was the inventor of arts and crafts, while the kings discovered what is necessary to support life. Hence in olden times the kingship was not hereditary, but was given to those who bestowed the most and greatest benefits upon the people, whether because the Egyptians challenged their kings to common service, or because they had, in truth, found it so ordained in the sacred records.

XLIV According to some of their legends, Egypt was first ruled by gods and heroes for a period little short of 18,000 years, and the last of the gods to be king was Horus, son of Isis. The land was then ruled, they say, by men for a period little short of 5,000 years down to the 180th Olympiad[4], in which I crossed over to Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy,

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[1] *Agrostis* : dog's-tooth grass.

[2] For these loaves of lotus, see *supra* 34.6.

[3] Hermes : see *supra* 16.

[4] 180th Olympiad : 60-56 B.C. Ptolemy XIII. Neos Dionysus, popularly called Auletes ("the Flute-player"), reigned from 80 to 51 B.C.

2 styled the young Dionysus. The majority of these kings were native Egyptians, but a few were Ethiopians, Persians, and Macedonians. There were four Ethiopian rulers[1], not in succession to one another, but at 3 intervals, their combined reigns being little short of 36 years. After King Cambyses[2] had conquered Egypt by arms, Persians ruled for 135 years, including the periods when the Egyptians were in revolt, being unable to bear the harshness of the yoke of the Persians and their impiety 4 towards the gods of the country. The last of the foreign rulers were Macedonians and their descendants, reigning for 276 years. All the remaining time was occupied by native rulers, numbering 470 kings and 5 queens. About all these rulers the priests had records in the sacred books, handed down from ancient times to each succeeding generation, telling of the greatness of each ruler, his physical characteristics, and the 5 events of each reign. But it would be tedious and superfluous for me to write in detail about each one, for the greater part of these records is worthless. I shall therefore try to relate briefly the events most worthy of record.

XLV After the gods, then, the first king of Egypt, they say, was Menas[3], who showed the people how to worship the gods and perform sacrifices. He also introduced tables, beds, and the use of costly coverlets—in short, 2 luxury and an extravagant way of living. It is said that the father of Bocchoris the sage, Tnephachthus[4], who reigned many generations later, made an expedition into Arabia, and when provisions failed in the inhospitable desert, he was obliged in his need to be content for one day with quite plain fare in the company of certain ordinary people : the king, highly delighted with this, renounced luxury and cursed that king who had first led the way in extravagance. So much to his liking was the

[1] Herodotus (II, 100) gives the number of Ethiopian Kings as 18. Ethiopians ruled Egypt in the 25th Dynasty, 712-663 B.C.

[2] Cambyses the Persian conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. : the Macedonian rule began with Alexander the Great, 332 B.C. Instead of 194 years of Persian rule Diodorus gives about 60 less.

[3] Menas or Menes, Min (in Herodotus), Minaeus (in Josephus), Egyptian MNA, is variously dated as *c.* 3400 or *c.* 3200 B.C.

[4] Tnephachthus or Tefnakhte, father of Bocchoris, *c.* 730 B.C. For Bocchoris, see *infra,* 94.5.

change of food, drink, and couch that he recorded his curse in hieroglyphs in the temple of Zeus at Thebes. This seems indeed to be the chief reason
3 why the fame and praises of Menas did not persist to later times. Next to this king, they say, his descendants, fifty-two in all, ruled for more than 1400 years : in their reigns nothing happened worthy of record.
4 Thereafter Busiris[1] was appointed king, succeeded by his eight descendants, the last of whom, they say, also named Busiris, founded the city which is called by the Egyptians Diospolis the Great, by the Greeks Thebes. He planned its circumference to be in itself 140 stades[2], and adorned it marvellously with great buildings, magnificent temples, and other monu-
5 ments. He also built private houses of four and five storeys, and in general he made the city the finest, not only in Egypt, but in the whole
6 world. Owing to its surpassing affluence and power, its renown spread abroad everywhere, and the poet (Homer) makes mention of it in these lines[3] : "Nor all the wealth of Egyptian Thebes where the treasure-houses are fullest stored—Thebes of the hundred gates, whence sally
7 forth through each two hundred warriors with horses and chariots". But some hold that the city had, not one hundred gates, but many great propylaea in its temples, whence it was named hundred-gated in the sense of many-gated. In truth, 20,000 chariots did come forth from it to war; for, along the river bank from Memphis to Libyan Thebes, there were a hundred stables, each with room for two hundred horses. The foundations of these stables are pointed out to this day.

XLVI Not only this king, according to tradition, but also many of his successors showed especial zeal for the aggrandisement of the city. No city under the sun has been so adorned with numerous great monuments of silver, gold, and ivory, with a multitude of colossal statues, as well as
2 with a series of monolithic obelisks. Of the four temples which were built, the oldest is remarkable for its beauty and size : it has a perimeter of

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[1] Busiris : see *infra,* 67. 11, 88. 5, and IV, 27. 3. Strabo (XVII, p. 802) says that there never was a king of this name.

[2] 140 stades = 17½ miles (1 stade = 1 furlong). For Diospolis the Great, cf. *supra,* 15, and STRABO, XVII, p. 815*f.* These was another Diospolis, called the Less, 75 miles down the Nile from Luxor : see STRABO, XVII, p. 814.

[3] HOMER, *Iliad,* IX, 381-384.

thirteen stades, a height of forty-five cubits, and the thickness of its walls
3 is twenty-four feet. In keeping with this magnificence were the decorated monuments within : these were remarkable in costliness, and exquisitely
4 finished in craftsmanship. The buildings indeed have lasted down to quite modern times, but the gold and silver and the costly work in ivory and precious stones were pillaged by the Persians at the time when Cambyses burned the temples of Egypt. It is said that the Persians then transported this wealth to Asia, and brought craftsmen from Egypt to erect
5 their renowned palaces at Persepolis and Susa and in Media. It is stated that the amount of treasure in Egypt was so great at that time that, after the remains from the pillaging had been consumed by fire, what was gradually gathered together was found to be more than 300 talents of
6 gold and no less than 2300 talents of silver. At Thebes, too, they say, there are marvellous tombs of the ancient kings, which have left men of
7 after time no chance of surpassing them in rivalry of magnificence. From the records the priests declared that there were forty-seven royal tombs [1]; in the reign of Ptolemy, son of Lagus [2], only seventeen, they say, were extant, and of these the greater number had been destroyed by the time
8 I visited those parts in the 180th Olympiad. Not only the Egyptian priests from investigation of the records, but also many of the Greeks (Hecataeus [3] among them), who visited Thebes in the reign of Ptolemy son of Lagus and compiled histories of Egypt, agree with the account I have
XLVII given. At a distance of ten stades from the first tombs in which tradition says the concubines of Zeus are buried, there stood, he declares, a monument of the king called Osymandyas [4]. At its entrance was a gateway
2 of variegated marble, 200 feet long and 45 cubits high. On passing this, one came to a square marble peristyle, each side measuring 400 feet. This was supported, not by columns, but by monolithic animals

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[1] Strabo (XVII, p. 816) mentions "about 40" royal tombs.

[2] Ptolemy, son of Lagus : Ptolemy I (Soter), 323-285 B.C. 180th Olympiad : 60-56 B.C.

[3] Hecataeus of Teos or Abdera (3rd century B.C.), from whose account of Egypt Diodorus borrowed very extensively.

[4] See Shelley's sonnet, "Ozymandias". The monument is probably to be identified with the Ramesseum at Thebes.

wall showed sculptures of all kinds and magnificent paintings, in which
the king's sacrifices of oxen were depicted and the triumph won in the
4 war. In the middle of the peristyle an altar open to the sky was built
of the finest marble, in excellent craftsmanship and of astonishing size.
5 Against the fourth wall there were two seated statues, each of a single
stone 27 cubits high. Beside these, three passages had been provided
from the peristyle, leading to a hypostyle hall, constructed like an Odeum[1],
6 each side measuring 200 feet. In this hall stood a number of wooden
statues, plainly representing litigants who gazed at their judges. The
latter were sculptured on one of the walls, to the number of thirty[2];
and in their midst was the Chief Judge, with eyes closed, Truth fastened
to his neck, and a number of books lying by his side. These images
symbolise by their attitude that judges should accept no bribe, and that
XLIX the Chief Judge should look to Truth alone. Next to this hall there was
a cloister, with many chambers of all kinds, in which all manner of vic-
2 tuals were fashioned, most agreeable to the taste. There one might find
sculptures[3]—the king depicted in bright colours as offering to the god
gold and silver, the annual revenue of all the gold and silver mines in
Egypt. An inscription beneath gave the amount, which, reckoned up in
3 silver, came to 32 millions of minae. Next to this was the sacred Lib-
rary, which bore the inscription "Healing-place of the Soul"[4]. Adjoin-
ing the Library were the images of all the gods of Egypt, while the king,
as before, offered to each his due, as though calling to witness Osiris and
his assessors in the lower world that he had spent his life in piety and
4 just dealing towards gods and men. Contiguous with the Library, an
exceptionally fine chamber was built, with twenty couches, containing
images of Zeus and Hera, as well as of the king : here the king's body
5 was believed to have been buried. Round about this chamber a number
of little rooms were built, with remarkable paintings of all the sacred

[1] Odeum : a Music or Concert Hall, or small Theatre.

[2] Thirty judges, i. e., ten from each of the three cities, Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, as Diodorus explains *infra*, 75. 3.

[3] The Greek text here is uncertain.

[4] Cf. Epictetus, III, 23. 30 : "a philosopher's school is a healing-place" (or surgery).

16 cubits high, fashioned after the ancient style. The whole ceiling, 12 feet broad, was monolithic and bespangled with stars on a background of *kyanos* (azure). Next to this peristyle there came a second entrance and gateway, in most respects similar to the first, but more elaborately
3 wrought with sculptures of all kinds. Beside the entrance stood three statues, each made of a single black stone from Syene[1]. One of these, a seated figure, was the greatest of all statues in Egypt : the foot exceeded 7 cubits in length. The other two, standing beside the knees to right and left, were statues of daughter and mother, falling short of the first
4 statue in size. Not only was this monument noteworthy for its stature, but it was also of marvellous craftsmanship in stone of unique character; for throughout its huge bulk there was not a fissure nor a blemish to be seen. The inscription upon it ran : "I am Osymandyas, king of kings. If anyone will know my greatness and the place where I lie, let him sur-
5 pass aught of my achievements". There was also another statue of his mother separately, a monolith of 20 cubits, with three diadems on her head, signifying that she had been daughter, wife, and mother of kings.
6 Next to the second gateway came another peristyle more memorable than the first : in it were sculptures of all kinds representing the war which this king had waged with the rebels in Bactria. He had taken the field against them with 400,000 footsoldiers and 20,000 horsemen, his whole army being divided into four, each division commanded by one of the
XLVIII king's sons. On the first wall of the peristyle the king was portrayed besieging a fortress girdled by a river, and fighting against his adversaries in the forefront of the battle, aided by a lion which struck terror everywhere. Some of those who interpreted these sculptures said that this was really a tame lion, bred by the king, sharing his danger in combat, and thus putting the enemy to rout by its strength. Others explained that this king, being excessively valiant and wishing to make a vulgar eulogy of himself, depicted the character of his spirit in the semblance of
2 a lion. On the second wall the prisoners of war taken by the king were represented, castrated and maimed of their hands : this seems to signify
3 their lack of manliness and their inactivity in times of peril. The third

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[1] Syene is Assuan, where there were many quarries of the ancient Egyptians.

animals of Egypt. A way led through these shrines up to the tomb itself; and on ascending, one found upon the monument a golden circle 365 cubits in circumference and one cubit in thickness. Upon this at intervals of one cubit the days of the year were engraved, and beside these, the natural risings and settings of the stars, and the signs of the seasons based upon them in Egyptian astronomy. This circle, they said, was pillaged by Cambyses and the Persians at the time of his conquest of Egypt.

6 Such is the description they give of the tomb of King Osymandyas which seems to be far superior to all others, not only in respect of the money L lavished on it, but in the skill of the craftsmen. Now the Thebans claim that they are the most ancient of all men, and that it was among them first that philosophy and exact astronomy were devised, for their climate aided them in discerning more clearly the risings and settings of the stars. 2 The order, too, of their months and years, they say, is peculiar to themselves. Their days, they measure, not by the moon, but by the sun: they make months of thirty days, intercalating five days and a quarter in twelve months and thus they complete the cycle of the year. They insert no additional months, nor do they subtract days, like most of the Greeks. About eclipses of sun and moon they appear to have made accurate observations, and they predict eclipses, foretelling with perfect accuracy all the the details of the phenomena.

3 The eighth descendant of this king, Uchoreus by name, founded Memphis [1], the most famous city in Egypt. He selected the most suitable site in the whole country, where the Nile, dividing into several branches, forms the Delta, as it is called from its shape. So it happened that the city, being favourably situated in a key-position, was mistress of the ships 4 that sail up country. Around the city he built an encircling wall 150 stades in length, remarkably strong and serviceable, constructed in some 5 such way as follows. Since the Nile flows round about the city and causes floods when it rises, he threw out an enormous mound on the South, serving both as a barrier against the flooding of the river, and as a bulwark against an enemy by land. On all the other sides, he dug a great, deep lake, which, by receiving the rushing tide of the river and filling

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[1] The foundation of Memphis is attributed by Herodotus (II, 99) to Min.

whole space that surrounded the city except where he had constructed the
6 mound, gave to the city a position of remarkable strength. So perfectly did the founder of Memphis divine the suitability of the site that almost all the kings in succession deserted Thebes and made Memphis their dwelling-place and the seat of their court. Hence, from this time on, the fame of Thebes began to wane, while that of Memphis increased, until the reign of Alexander. He founded by the sea the city called after him, and his successors on the throne of Egypt all vied with one another
7 in adding to its splendour. Some adorned it with magnificent palaces, others with dockyards and harbours, others with memorials of different kinds and noteworthy monuments, to such an extent that it was, in the judgment of most men, reckoned to be the first or second city in the world. But I shall describe the city in detail under the appropriate
LI dates[1]. After constructing the mound and the lake, the founder of Memphis built a palace not inferior to those in other lands, but unworthy
2 of the nobility and love of refinement shown by his predecessors. The Egyptians deem the span of this life to be altogether of little moment, but the period after death which virtue will make memorable they regard as of the highest importance. They call the dwellings of the living lodging-places, on the ground that we dwell in them for only a short time, whereas the tombs of the dead they style everlasting homes, for in Hades we continue to live for all eternity. That is why they think less of the furnishings of their houses, while with regard to obsequies, they
3 cannot be surpassed in zeal. The city of Memphis, some say, was so named from the daughter of the king, its founder. The story goes that the River Nile in the semblance of a bull became enamoured of her, and begat Aegyptus who was admired by the Egyptians for his merit and from
4 whom the whole land took its name. He, indeed, succeeding to the throne, proved himself a just and kindly king, in all respects virtuous. So, being by all men deemed worthy of high regard, he obtained (they say) because of his benevolence the honour already mentioned.

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[1] For this description of Alexandria, see Book XVII, Ch. 52, where Diodorus says that there were many who reckoned Alexandria as the first city in the world, ranking it even above Rome.

5 Twelve generations after Aegyptus Moeris[1] came to the throne of Egypt, and constructed the northern forecourt of the temple at Memphis, which far surpasses all others in magnificence. At a distance of 10 *schoeni* (or "ropes")[2] to the south of the city he dug a lake of remarkable 6 usefulness, though at the cost of incredible toil. Its circumference, they say, is 3600 stades, its depth at most points 50 fathoms. Who, then, on estimating the greatness of the construction, would not reasonably ask how many tens of thousands of men must have been employed, and how many years they took to finish their work? No one can adequately commend the king's design, which brings such usefulness and advantage to all the dwellers in Egypt.

LII Since the Nile kept to no definite bounds in its rising, and the fruitfulness of the country depended upon the river's regularity, the king dug the lake to accommodate the superfluous water, so that the river should neither with its strong current flood the land unseasonably and form swamps and fens, nor by rising less than was advantageous, damage the 2 crops by lack of water. Between the river and the lake he constructed a canal 80 stades in length and 300 feet in breadth. Through this canal, at times he admitted the water of the river, at other times he excluded it, thus providing the farmers with water at fitting times by opening the inlet and again closing it scientifically and at great expense. No less than 50 talents had of necessity to be expended by anyone who wished 3 to open or shut this sluice. The lake has continued to serve the needs of the Egyptians down to our own days, and it has its name from its cons-4 tructor, being still called the Lake of Moeris. Now, the king, in digging this lake, left in the middle of it a site on which he built a tomb and two pyramids, one for himself, the other for his wife, each a stade in height[3]; and upon them he placed seated images of stone, thinking that by means of these monuments he would leave behind him for ever a memory for

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[1] For Moeris see Hdt., ii, 101—probably Amenemhet III, *c.* 1849-1801 B.C., Herodotus describes the Lake in ii, 149, 150.

[2] *Schoenus :* a practical measure of varying length, generally = 60 stades, hence 10 *schoeni* = 75 miles.

[3] Herodotus, who gives the same greatly exaggerated height (ii, 149), explains that half the structure stands above, and half below, the water.

5 good. The revenue from fishing in the lake he gave to his wife as an allowance for myrrh and other articles of toilet; and the catch yielded a 6 talent of silver every day. There are in the lake, they say, twenty-two kinds of fish, and such a great quantity of fish is caught that, although there is a multitude of men engaged in the task of preserving the fish, they have difficulty in coping with their work. Such is the account that is given of Moeris by the Egyptians.

LIII Seven generations later, they say, Sesoosis[1] became king, and performed achievements greater and more remarkable than those of any previous king. Concerning this king there is disagreement, not only among Greek historians, but also among Egyptian priests and eulogising poets; and I shall therefore endeavour to give the most probable account, that which harmonises best with the memorials still existing in Egypt. 2 After the birth of Sesoosis his father performed a royal and magnificent act. He gathered together from the whole of Egypt the boys who had been born that same day; and appointing nurses and guardians for the boys, he assigned to them all the same upbringing and education. His notion was that those who were reared in closest association and shared the same freedom of speech would be the truest friends and the best 3 comrades in war. He furnished the boys with everything in abundance, and kept them occupied with continuous labours and gymnastic exercises. None of them was allowed to take food without first having run 180 4 stades. So, when they reached manhood, they all proved themselves athletes robust in physique, able to command and to endure, thanks to 5 their training in the best accomplishments. First of all, then, his father sent Sesoosis with a force to Arabia[2], and the expedition included his foster-fellows. Sesoosis engaged energetically in hunting; and after patiently enduring from time to time lack of water and scarcity of food, he conquered the whole race of Arabs, previously unsubdued. 6 Next, being sent into the Western region, he brought the greater part of 7 Libya under Egyptian sway, while he was still quite young. On his

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[1] Sesoōsis (in Hdt., ii, 102, Sesostris) is here identified with Rameses II, *c.* 1292-1225, although the name seems to come from the great conqueror of the 12th Dynasty, Senosret III (Usertesen). See also Strabo, xvi, p. 769, xvii, p. 790.

[2] For the conquest of Arabia by Sesostris, see Strabo, xvi, p. 769.

father's death, he succeeded to the throne, and being elated by his pre-
8 vious achievements, he aimed at conquering the world. His own daughter Athyrtis, it is said, urged him to assume overlordship of the world. Some declare that, since she was far superior to all others in intellect, she convinced her father that the campaign would be an easy one : others, that it was because she employed divination and learned the future beforehand from augury and from sleeping in temples, as well as from omens
9 in the sky. Some have written, too, that at the birth of Sesoosis, his father dreamed that Hephaestus told him that the child then born would
10 rule the whole world. For this reason, then, his father (they say) brought his age-fellows together, and gave them the advantage of a royal upbringing, making preparations beforehand for world-sovereignty; and Sesoosis, on attaining manhood, believed the god's prediction and was
LIV led to make this expedition. To aid him in this design, first of all he won the goodwill of all the Egyptians, considering that, if he was to bring his purpose to fruition, those joining in the expedition must be ready to die for their leaders, and those left behind in their native land
2 must not be inclined to revolution. So he benefited all his subjects in every possible way, winning over some by largesses of money, others by gifts of land, certain ones by remission ef penalties, and attaching all to his side by affable intercourse and the goodness of his character. Indeed, he absolved all men from charges of high treason, and released from their obligation those imprisoned for debt, for there was a great multitude
3 in the prisons. Dividing the whole land into thirty-six districts, called *nomes*[1] by the Egyptians, he set over each *nome* a governor to take charge of the royal revenues and the whole administration of his own district.
4 He also selected from among his subjects those of outstanding physical strength, and organised an army worthy of the greatness of his enterprise. In fact, he enrolled 600,000 footsoldiers, and 24,000 horse-
5 men, with 27,000 war chariots. In command of the divisions of this army he appointed his foster-fellows : they had already borne the brunt of warfare, they had been from boyhood zealous of valour, and they felt brotherly love for their king and for each other. Their number was more

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[1] *Nomes* : see *infra* 73. 1. Egyptian records sometimes fix the number of the *nomes* at 44, 22 for each part of Egypt.

6 than 1700. To all these men he allotted the best of the land, in order that, possessing sufficient resources and being in want of nothing, they
LV might practise the arts of war. Having fully equipped his force, he marched first against the Ethiopians who dwell in the south; and defeating them in battle, he obliged the race to pay tribute of ebony, gold,
2 and elephants' tusks. Next, he sent an expedition of 400 ships to the "Red Sea"[1], being the first Egyptian to build warships; and he took possession of the islands in those parts, and of the mainland he subdued the seaboard as far as India. He himself, marching on foot with the
3 army, subdued the whole of Asia. Indeed, he not only traversed the territory afterwards conquered by Alexander of Macedon, but also visited
4 some lands which the Greek king did not reach. Sesoosis, in fact, crossed the River Ganges[2], and traversed the whole of India right to Ocean, and the Scythian tribes as far as the River Tanais which is the boundary between Europe and Asia. It was then, they say, that a number of Egyptians were left behind near Lake Maeotis and founded the tribe of Colchians[3].
5 A proof that this race is Egyptian is the fact that circumcision is practised as in Egypt, for the rite persists in Egyptian colonies, just as also among
6 the Jews. Likewise, Sesoosis brought the rest of Asia wholly into subjection and most of the Cyclades. Crossing over into Europe and traversing the whole of Thrace, he ran the risk of losing his army through lack
7 of provisions and through the rigours of the country. Wherefore, fixing the limits of his expedition in Thrace, he erected *stelae* (pillars) in many of the regions which he had conquered. These pillars bore the inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphs, as they are called : "This land was subdued
8 in warfare by Sesoosis, king of kings and lord of lords". On the stone, among warlike tribes he fashioned a man's privy member, among degenerate and cowardly tribes a woman's secret parts[4]; for he thought that

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[1] "Red Sea", i.e. Persian Gulf or Indian Ocean, as in *supra* 19. 6.

[2] Doubtless Diodorus exaggerates here in order to make Sesoosis out-rival Alexander the Great by crossing the Ganges and conquering the tribes beyond.

[3] Colchians : see Hdt., II, 104, and *supra* 28. 2.

[4] The addition of sexual emblems to the *stelae* recording conquest must be a Greek invention : it was not an Egyptian custom, but it occurs already in Herodotus (II, 102. 5).

from this significant feature the character of each nation's spirit would be
9 perfectly obvious to succeeding generations. In some districts also he fashioned an image[1] of himself in stone, armed with spear, bow, and arrows, four cubits and four palms in height, just the stature of Sesoosis
10 himself. He showed kindliness in his treatment of all subject races; and completing his campaign in nine years, he ordered that the tribes should, each year, bring gifts to Egypt according to their means. He himself, having gathered a prodigious array of prisoners and spoils of war, returned to his native land, after achieving greater conquests than any previous
11 king. All the temples in Egypt he adorned with notable memorials and spoils; and those of his soldiers who had done valiant deeds, he rewarded
12 with gifts according to their desert. All in all, the result of this expedition was not merely that the army which had shared in valiant deeds acquired great affluence and returned in triumph; but the whole of Egypt found itself loaded with benefits of all kinds.

LVI After these campaigns, Sesoosis disbanded his hosts, and allowed those who had shared in valiant deeds to live at ease in enjoyment of the wealth they had acquired. He himself, however, being eager for glory and grasping at everlasting renown, erected great monuments, marvellous in conception and costly in execution,—monuments that win immortal fame
2 for himself, and lasting peace and safety for Egypt. Honouring first the gods, he built in every city of Egypt a temple to the divinity held in greatest esteem by the inhabitants. In all this work he employed no Egyptians, completing it by means of prisoners of war alone. Hence upon all the temples he set an inscription to this effect : "No native of
3 Egypt has laboured here". The story runs that the Babylonian prisoners, being unable to bear the hardships of the work, rebelled against the king; and seizing a strong position beside the river, they made war upon the Egyptians, and laid waste the adjoining territory. In the end they were granted an amnesty, and settled in the region, which they named
4 Babylon[2] after their own native place. For similar reasons, they say, the name of Troy was given to the town which still at the present day stands

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[1] Cf. Hdt., II, 106. 3.

[2] Babylon, now Old Cairo : Strabo, XVII, p. 807. For Troy, see Strabo, XVII, p. 809. For Menelaus in Egypt, cf. Hdt., II, 118, 119.

by the Nile. Menelaus, in fact, sailing from Ilium with many prisoners of war, crossed over to Egypt. There the Trojans revolted, seized a certain place, and carried on war until they were granted assurance of safety, whereupon they founded a city which they called by the same name as
5 their native place. I am well aware, however, that concerning these cities Ctesias of Cnidus [1] has given a different account, stating that they were founded by some of the followers of Semiramis, who came to Egypt
6 and named their cities after their own native places. In regard to these events, while it is not easy to set forth the exact truth, it is essential to record the divergent accounts of previous historians, so that an unprejudiced judgment of the truth may be left to my readers.

LVII Be that as it may, Sesoosis constructed many great mounds of earth, and removed to them all the cities whose natural sites were not sufficiently elevated. This he did in order that at flood-time both men and cattle
2 might have safe places of refuge. Throughout the whole territory from Memphis to the sea, he made a network of canals connected with the river, so that transport of crops might be easy and expeditious, and through mutual intercourse the people of all districts might enjoy peace and ample abundance of all luxuries. More important still, he made the
3 country strong and inaccessible to an enemy's incursions. Previous to this, the best part of Egypt had been almost wholly suitable for horses and accessible to chariots; but from this time on, because of the number of canals connected with the river, it became most difficult to invade.
4 He also fortified the eastward side of Egypt, from Pelusium through the desert to Heliopolis for a length of 1500 stades, against forays from Syria
5 and Arabia. He likewise built a ship of cedar wood, 280 cubits in length, gilded on its outer surface, and silvered within. This he dedicated to the deity held in highest esteem in Thebes, along with two obelisks of "hard stone", 120 cubits high, on which an inscription told of the greatness of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the number of the vanquished nations. At Memphis in the temple of Hephaestus he set

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[1] Ctesias, a physician of Cnidus at the end of the 5th century B.C., wrote a history of Assyria and Persia. For the invasion of Egypt by Semiramis, see DIODORUS, II, 14. 3.

up monolithic statues[1] of himself and his wife, 30 cubits high, and
6 statues of his sons 20 cubits high. This he did because of the following incident[2]. When Sesoosis had returned to Egypt from his great expedition and was living near Pelusium, his brother, while entertaining him to a feast with his wife and children, formed a plot against him. They had retired to rest after their wine, when the brother took a quantity of dry reeds which he had prepared some time before, and placing these by
7 night around the king's tent, he set them on fire. Flames instantly blazed up; and those appointed to attend the king, being heavy with wine, were coming sluggishly to his aid. But Sesoosis, uplifting both hands, prayed to the gods for the safety of his wife and children, and dashed
8 out through the flames. Being thus miraculously saved, he honoured the gods, as has already been mentioned, with offerings; most of all, Hephaestus, since through him he had found deliverance.

LVIII Of the many great deeds of Sesoosis the most magnificent is reputed to be his treatment of the enemy's leaders on his military expeditions.
2 In the vanquished nations those to whom he had granted the kingships, and others who had succeeded to the highest offices presented themselves in Egypt at appointed times, bearing gifts. Sesoosis, receiving them, honoured them in every way and escorted them with exceptional respect; but whenever he was about to approach a temple or a city, he would unyoke the horses from his chariot and in their place would yoke the kings and leaders four by four, thereby showing to the world, as he believed, that, having vanquished the best men, the most renowned for valour, in other nations, he had no one who could contend with him in
3 rivalry of valour. This king is reputed to have surpassed all who ever held office, both in military achievements and in the greatness and number of the offerings he dedicated, and of the monuments he erected in Egypt. After holding kingship for thirty-three years, he voluntarily departed from life, since his eyesight had failed him. For so doing he was admired, not only by the priests, but also by the Egyptians in general, for they

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[1] These statues are mentioned by Herodotus also (II, 110).

[2] The incident (Hdt., II, 107) seems to be quite unhistorical : the story may have its origin in the harem conspiracy against Rameses III, in his old age (Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 498 ff.).

deemed him to have rounded off his life in harmony with the grandeur
4 of his achievements. To such a degree did the fame of this king increase and extend that when, many generations afterwards, Egypt fell into the power of Persia, and Darius [1] the father of Xerxes was eager to set up his own statue at Memphis in front of the statue of Sesoosis, the chief priest vetoed the proposal when it was brought forward at an assembly of priests, and pointed out that Darius had not yet surpassed the exploits of Sesoosis. So far from showing any displeasure, Darius was, on the contrary, delighted by this freedom of speech, and said he would strive not to be outdone in any respect by Sesoosis if he lived as long a life. So he invited the high priest to compare their deeds at the same age :
5 this, he added, was the justest criterion of merit. About Sesoosis, then, we shall rest satisfied with the account now given.

LIX Sesoosis was succeeded in the sovereignty by his son, who called himself by his father's name [2]. He performed no martial exploit nor any deed whatsoever, worthy of mention; but a peculiar mischance befell him.
2 He lost his eyesight, whether through natural affinity to his father or, according to one story, because of his impiety towards the river, when, being once tossed on stormy waves, he hurled a spear at the rushing current. Obliged by the misfortune of blindness to have recourse to divine aid, he tried for a considerable time to propitiate the gods by numerous sacrifices and offerings, but he could obtain no satisfaction.
3 In the tenth year an oracle bade him honour the god of Heliopolis, and wash his face with the urine of a woman who had never known a man other than her own husband. He began with his own wife, and then made trial of many others, but found no one uncorrupted except a certain gardener's wife. Her he married when his sight was restored; but the others he burned alive in a certain village, which the Egyptians call
4 "Sacred Clay" after this occurence. In obedience to the oracle and in gratitude to the god of Heliopolis for this service, the king set up two monolithic obelisks, 8 cubits thick and 100 cubits high.

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[1] Herodotus (II, 110) tells the same story, which illustrates well the conciliatory policy of Darius.

[2] With this Chapter, cf. Hdt., II, 111, who calls this king Pheros, i.e. Pharaoh, and the village (§ 3) "Red Clay"— a purely imaginary place.

LX After this king, many who succeeded in turn to the throne performed no exploit worthy of record. Many generations later, Amasis[1] became king and ruled the masses tyranically. He punished many unjustly, and deprived a large number of their property, while he treated all his sub-
2 jects contemptuously and altogether arrogantly. For a time, however, the suffering nation endured, being unable in any way to retaliate upon a stronger power. But when Actisanes, king of the Ethiopians, invaded Egypt, hatred found its opportunity, and the majority of the Egyptians
3 revolted against Amasis. As he was easily subdued, Egypt fell under the sway of the Ethiopians; and Actisanes, using his success with becoming
4 moderation, treated the conquered with kindness. It was then too that he performed a singular act in regard to robbers, neither putting the
5 guilty to death nor letting them go altogether unpunished. From every part of Egypt he gathered together those accused of villainy, and after holding the strictest investigation, he assembled all the condemned, cut off their noses, and settled them at frontiers of the desert in a city he had founded, called Rhinocolura[2] from the hapless plight of the inhabitants.
6 Standing on the boundary between Egypt and Syria not far from the line of the sea-shore, this town is devoid of practically everything that pertains
7 to human life. It is surrounded by a region thick with salt, and in the town itself there is only a little water in wells, and that too tainted and
8 quite bitter in taste. The criminals were settled in this region in order that they might neither continue the practices they had followed all their lives, thereby outraging the innocent, nor be unrecognised and unobserv-
9 ed in their intercourse with other men. Nevertheless, outcasts as they were in a desert place, destitute of practically all resources, they devised a way of living appropriate to their need; for Nature obliged them to try
10 every means of avoiding destitution. They cut reeds in the neighbouring district, and by splitting them, they made extremely long nets. These they spread for many stades along the shore to catch the quails, which

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[1] There seems to be confusion here between Ahmose, 1580-1555 B.C., and Amasis (also Ahmose), 569-526 B.C.

[2] This penitentiary colony, Rhinocolura (STRABO, XVII, p. 759), is now El-Arish, the principal town in the Province of Sinai. For the quails (§ 10), see *O.T. Exodus*, XVI, 13, *Numbers* XI, 31.

fly in great numbers from the sea. The birds they caught provided them with ample sustenance.

LXI On the death of Actisanes, Egyptians regained the sovereignty, and 2 appointed a native king, Mendes[1], whom some call Marrus. He performed no warlike deed at all, but as his tomb he constructed the Labyrinth[2], as it is called, which is not so much marvellous for the great toil spent on it, as inimitable in its clever craftsmanship. The person who enters it cannot easily find the way out, unless he has a wholly experienced 3 guide. Some say that Daedalus crossed over to Egypt and, admiring the art of the monument, he constructed for Minos, King of Crete, a labyrinth similar to the one in Egypt, and in it, according to the legend, lived the 4 Minotaur, as it was called. But the Cretan labyrinth has completely disappeared, whether because some king destroyed it utterly or through the ravages of time : the Egyptian labyrinth, however, has preserved its whole structure uninjured down to our own times.

LXII After this king's death, for five generations the land was without a ruler; then an obscure person whom Egyptians call Keten[3] was chosen to be king. Among the Greeks he is reputed to be Proteus, who lived 2 about the time of the Trojan War. Tradition says that he had knowledge of spirits and could transform himself, now into an animal, again into a tree or fire or some other object; and the priests too give an account that 3 agrees with this. From his close and continued association with astronomers (they say), the king gained his knowledge of spirits; while it was from the traditional practice of Egyptian rulers that the story about his 4 transformations arose among the Greeks. For it is the custom of the sovereigns of Egypt to wear on their heads the mask of lions, bulls, and serpents as symbols of authority. Sometimes they have on their heads trees, at other times fire, and again heaps of fragment incense; and these they use, not only for personal adornment, but also to reduce their subjects to terror and superstitious reverence.

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[1] Mendes : in STRABO, XVII, p. 811 Imandes, p. 813 Ismandes.

[2] For the Labyrinth near Hawâra, see HDT. II, 148, STRABO, XVII, p. 811.

[3] Herodotus (II, 112-120) tells how, in the reign of Proteus, Alexander (i.e. Paris) and Helen came to Egypt.

5 After the death of Proteus, his son Rhemphis[1] succeeded to the throne, and spent the whole of his life looking after the revenues and heaping up wealth from every source; but his meanness of soul and covetousness would not suffer him to spend anything either on offerings to the gods or 6 on benefactions to men. Thus he lived more like a careful steward than a king; and instead of a name for valour, he left behind him hoards of money—more than any previous king. The tradition runs that he amassed as much as 400,000 talents of silver and gold.

LXIII After his death his successors to the throne for seven generations were kings of utterly sluggish character, making self-indulgence and luxury the mainspring of all their actions. Wherefore in the sacred records no tradition is preserved of any costly monument, nor of any noteworthy deed achieved by them, save only by Nileus, from whom the river in point of fact took the name of Nile, being previously called Aegyptus. This king made numerous convenient canals, and by his many zealous efforts to increase the usefulness of the Nile, he caused the river to receive this name.

2 The eighth king in the succession, Chemmis[2] of Memphis, ruled for fifty years, and constructed the greatest of the three pyramids, which are 3 numbered among the Seven Wonders of the World. They stand towards Libya, at a distance of 120 stades from Memphis, and 45 from the Nile; and the magnitude and skilful craftsmanship of the monuments strike the 4 beholder with amazement and admiration. The largest is square in shape, each side of the base being 700 feet, and its height is more than 600 feet. It contracts little by little up to apex, which is six cubits 5 square. It is wholly built of hard stone, laborious to work but enduring for ever. For, although no fewer than 1000 years, as they say, have elapsed down to our days,—or according to certain writers, more than 3400 years,—the stones still stand firm in their original construction,

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[1] Rhemphis : in Hdt., ii, 121, Rhampsinitus.

[2] The builder of the Great Pyramid at Giza was Khufu, called by Herodotus (ii, 124) Cheops, c. 2690 B.C. Instead of mounds of earth (§ 6), "rockers" ("ascenseurs oscillants") may have been used; but for the use of mounds and cross-walls in vertical building, see Somers Clarke and Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, pp. 93-95.

6 preserving the whole monument from decay. It is said that the stone was brought from Arabia, a great distance, and that the construction was carried out by means of mounds of earth, since engines had not yet been 7 invented in those days. The greatest marvel of all is that, although such monuments were constructed in a region altogether sandy, no trace is left either of the mound or of the polishing of the stones, so that it appears that the structure was not reared little by little by the hand of man, but 8 was placed there *en bloc* amid encircling sand as if by some god. Some of the Egyptians try to make marvels of these matters, stating that, as the mounds were made of salt and nitre, the river, being let in upon them, melted and utterly destroyed them without the laborious interfer- 9 ence of human hands. However, the truth is otherwise : the multitude of workers who threw up the mounds, themselves undid the whole of their work. Three hundred and sixty thousand men, they say, toiled steadily upon the monument, and the whole structure was with difficulty completed in twenty years.

LXIV When this king died, his successor in the sovereignty was his brother Kephren[1], who reigned for fifty-six years. Some say, however, that it was not a brother, but a son named Chabryas who succeeded to the throne. 2 But all agree that this successor, emulating the policy of Chemmis, built the second pyramid. This is similar to the first in skilful craftsmanship, but in magnitude it falls far short, each side of the base being one stade 3 long. An inscription[2] on the greater pyramid tells the amount of money expended on it : the writing reveals that more than 1600 talents were 4 spent on vegetables and purges for the workmen. The lesser pyramid is uninscribed, and it has a stairway, cut in one of the sides. Of the two kings who constructed pyramids as their tombs, neither, as it happened, 5 was buried there. For owing to the hardships they endured in building the monuments, and because of the cruelty and oppression of these kings, the common people were angered at the responsible authors, and threatened to rend their bodies asunder and cast them in wanton outrage out

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[1] The monuments record a king Dedfre or Tetfra between Khufu and Khefre or Khafra : Khefre may have been the son of Khufu. Cf. Hdt., ii, 127.

[2] This strange "inscription" (Hdt., ii, 125. 6) has been explained as a mistranslation of the royal inscription or of a scribbled prayer to Osiris.

6 of their tombs. Hence each of these two kings, at his death, charged his relatives to bury his body secretly in an unknown place.

Next, Mycerinus [1], whom some call Mencherinus, became king : he
7 was the son of the builder of the first pyramid. He formed the design of constructing a third pyramid, but died before the whole work was completed. He laid down each side of the base 300 feet long; and for fifteen courses he constructed the sloping sides of a dark stone resembling Theban stone [2], but the remainder he filled up with stones like those in
8 the other pyramids. Though inferior in magnitude to those already described, this monument far surpasses them in skill of workmanship and
9 costliness of stone. An inscription on its North side records its builder Mycerinus. Out of hatred for the cruelty of his predecessors, they say, he strove after a virtuous life of active benefit to his subjects : he was continually doing deeds by which he could best gain the goodwill of the common people, and he expended a large sum of money on the administration of justice, giving bounties to such honest men as seemed not to be faring as well as they deserved in their lawsuits.

10 There are also other three pyramids, with each side 100 feet long; in construction they are in general similar to the first three, but not in size. They were built, they say, by the three last-named kings in honour of
11 their wives. It is agreed that the pyramids stand supreme in Egypt not only for their massiveness of structure and their cost, but also for the
12 skilled technique of the craftsmen. They say, further, that we must admire the master-builders of the monuments more than the kings who supplied the finances for the work. For the former brought their plan to consummation by their own lifeblood and emulous strivings, while the latter took advantage of their inherited wealth and the hardships of other
13 men. But about the pyramids there is absolutely no agreement either among the people of the country or among historians. Some say that the above-mentioned built the pyramids, others name different kings. For instance, they say the largest was built by Armaeus, the second by

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[1] Mycerinus, i.e. Menkewre or Menkaura : see the poem "Mycerinus" by Matthew Arnold.

[2] Herodotus (II, 134) rightly says that the lower half of the pyramid was cased with "Ethiopian stone", i.e., red granite.

14 Amosis, the third by Inaros. Some hold that this last was the tomb of Rhodopis the courtesan [1] : their story is that certain governors of *nomes* who had been her lovers raised the whole structure in common out of the affection they bore her.

LXV After these kings the successor to the throne was Bocchoris [2], utterly contemptible in presence, but far superior to his predecessors in sagacity. 2 Many years later Sabacon [3] became king of Egypt. By race he was an Ethiopian, but he far surpassed the preceding kings in piety and good- 3 ness. In evidence of his humanity one may take the fact that he abolished 4 the severest of legal penalties, I mean the sentence of death. For instead of executing the condemned, he obliged them to perform public duties to their cities while they remained in bondage; and by this means he constructed many mounds, and dug no small number of convenient canals. His purpose was to reduce the rigour of the penalty for those under sentence, and to secure for the cities a notable service instead of useless 5 penalties. How exceedingly pious he was, one may infer from his dream- 6 vision and his abdication from the throne. In his dream it seemed that the god of Thebes declared to him that he could not rule either long or happily over Egypt, unless he should cut all the priests in two, and pass 7 with his retinue between their severed bodies. As this dream was often repeated, he summoned the priests from all parts, and said that he was grieving the god by remaining in the country : otherwise the god would 8 not be laying such injunctions upon him in dreams. He wished, therefore, to depart from Egypt untainted by any pollution, and surrender his life to destiny rather than continue ruling over Egypt, while grieving his lord and staining his own life with impious slaughter. Finally he restored the kingship to the natives of the country, and returned to Ethiopia.

LXVI There was no ruler in Egypt for the next two years; and, as the masses were turning their minds to riots and tribal murders, the twelve most

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(1) Herodotus (II, 134, 135) rejects this story as absurd.

(2) Bocchoris, i.e. Bekenranf, *c.* 718-712 B.C. : see *infra* 79. 1, 94. 5.

(3) Sabacon (in Hdt., II, 137-139, Sabacos), 712-700 B.C. The story of voluntary retirement by the last Ethiopian king is found on the monuments, but in reality the Ethiopians retired before the Assyrians.

powerful leaders swore a covenant with one another. Assembling in Memphis and drawing up treaties to keep faith and concord with one
2 another, they proclaimed themselves kings [1]. For fifteen years they ruled in accordance with their oaths and agreements, maintaining harmonious relations with one another; and they formed the design of constructing a common tomb for themselves, so that, just as in life they showed goodwill to one another and enjoyed equal honours, so too after death their bodies should lie in one place, and the completed monument should
3 contain a common record of the fame of those buried there. In their zeal to achieve their design, they strove to surpass in magnitude all previous monuments. They selected a site in Libya beside the entrance to Lake Moeris, and built their tomb of the finest stones [2]. They planned it square in shape, each side being one stade long, and adorned it with
4 sculptures and other works of art, not to be surpassed by posterity. At the entrance to the enclosure stood a building set round with pillars, forty on each side. Its roof was a monolith, adorned with sculptured
5 panels and paintings of different kinds. It also contained memorials of the native places of the kings, and of the rites and sacrifices belonging to
6 each, all artistically portrayed in excellent paintings. Indeed, so costly and so vast was the plan of the tomb which the kings are said to have made, that, had they not been deposed before completing their design, they would have made it impossible for anyone to build a monument
7 surpassing theirs. But after they had ruled Egypt for fifteen years, the kingship reverted to a single individual, the reasons being as follows.
8 Psammetichus of Sais, one of the twelve kings, the ruler of the seaboard, supplied merchandise to all traders, especially to Phoenicians and Greeks.
9 In this way, disposing of his own country's produce at a profit and acquiring in exchange commodities from other nations, he not only attained great affluence, but made friendships with foreign nations and rulers.
10 Because of this, they say, the other kings became jealous and made war on him. Some of the ancient historians tell a tale that an oracle was uttered to these leaders, to the effect that whichever of them should first

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[1] For the twelve kings, see Hdt., II, 147; but the monuments show no trace of this "dodecarchy".

[2] Cf. Hdt., II, 148, and *infra* 89. 3.

at Memphis pour libation to the god from a vessel of bronze, would be master of all Egypt; and when one of the priests brought twelve [1] golden vessels out of the temple, Psammetichus took off his helmet and poured

11 the libation from it. His colleagues in the kingship, then, although they viewed his act with suspicion, did not wish to put him to death, but sentenced him to be banished forthwith and live in the marshes of the

12 seaboard. Whether the quarrel arose for this reason or because of jealousy, as has been related, the fact remains that Psammetichus summoned mercenaries from Caria and Ionia, and won a pitched battle near the town called Momemphis [2]. Of the kings who confronted him, some were slain in the fight, and the others, being expelled into Libya, had no longer the power to dispute his sovereignty.

LXVII Having gained possession of the undivided kingship, Psammetichus [3] built the eastern outercourt of the temple of the god at Memphis, and the enclosing wall of the shrine, placing there for pillars great statues, twelve cubits high. Besides the payments promised to his mercenaries, he distributed considerable bounties, gave them as dwelling-place The Camps [4], as they were called, and assigned to them as their settlement a large stretch of land a little to the south of the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. Many years later, when Amasis became king, he removed them from there, and settled

2 them at Memphis. Having by means of these mercenaries succeeded in seizing the kingship, Psammetichus thereafter entrusted them above all with the charge of his kingdom, and continued to maintain large forces

3 of foreign troops. When he made an expedition into Syria, he preferred his mercenaries for pitched battles and posted them on the right wing : regarding the native troops with less esteem, he assigned to them the left side of the phalanx. Exasperated by the insult, the Egyptians, who were

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[1] Herodotus (II, 151) gives the number as eleven : the helmet served as the twelfth.

[2] Momemphis lay on a canal from the Canopic or western branch of the Nile to the Mareotic Lake.

[3] Psammetichus I. had a long reign, 663-609 B.C. Herodotus (II, 153) attributes the southern outercourt to Psammetichus, the eastern one to Asychis (II, 136).

[4] See Hdt., II, 154. Flinders Petrie excavated one of these camps at Tell Dafana or Daphnae, W. of El Qantara.

more than 200,000 in number, revolted[1] and marched off towards
4 Ethiopia, having decided to acquire a land of their own. The king first of all sent some of his leaders to apologise for the slight; but as the deserters would not heed them, the king himself, along with his friends,
5 pursued them in boats. As they were advancing up the Nile and crossing the frontiers of Egypt, he begged them to change their purpose, reminding them of their temples and native places, their wives and children.
6 But they all with one accord raised a shout, and beating their shields with their pikes, exclaimed that, as long as they wielded arms, they would easily find a country; then, pulling up their tunics and pointing to their genitals, they cried that, while they had these, they would lack neither
7 wives nor children. In such high spirits, despising what others hold most valuable, they seized the best part of Ethiopia, and having portioned
8 out a large area, they settled there. Psammetichus was exceedingly vexed at this; but he set the affairs of Egypt in order, and while looking after the revenues, he formed an alliance with Athens and some other Greek
9 states. He also conferred benefits upon such foreigners as came of their own free will to reside in Egypt; and, having an exceptional love of Greece, he taught his sons Hellenic culture. In general, he was the first of the kings of Egypt to throw open to other nations the markets[2] throughout
10 the country, and offer ample security to incoming foreigners. Previous rulers, in fact, kept Egypt inaccessible to strangers, by putting some to
11 death, and enslaving others when they landed. Moreover, the inhospitality of the Egyptians caused the impiety of Busiris[3] to be noised abroad among the Greeks : yet the tale is not truly told, but exaggerated in legendary form because of the excessive lawlessness of the country.

LXVIII Four generations later than Psammetichus, Apries[4] was king for twenty-two years. Taking the field against Cyprus and Phoenicia with

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[1] Herodotus (II, 30) gives a different reason for the revolt, but tells this same incredible tale : no Egyptian would address royalty thus.

[2] According to HDT., II, 179, Naucratis was the only treaty port in the time of Amasis.

[3] Busiris : see *supra*, 45. 4.

[4] For Apries (Wehebre : Hophra in the *Old Testament*), 588-569 B.C., see HDT., II, 161; and for the expedition against Cyrene, see HDT., IV, 159.

powerful forces by land and sea, he took Sidon by storm, and won over by intimidation the other cities of Phoenicia. In a great sea-fight he overcame the Phoenicians and the men of Cyprus, and having amassed
2 a store of plunder he returned to Egypt. He afterwards sent a powerful force of his countrymen against Cyrene and Barca, and, by losing the greater part of it, he alienated the survivors. Assuming that he had arranged the expedition with a view to their destruction, so that he might rule more securely over the rest of the Egyptians, they revolted.
3 The king sent to them Amasis, an eminent Egyptian, but he disregarded the king's instructions to bring about a reconciliation : on the contrary, he urged the rebels towards further alienation, joined in their
4 revolt, and was himself appointed king. Not long after, as all the other Egyptians united to attack Apries, the king in his perplexity was obliged to seek refuge among his mercenaries, who were as many as
5 30.000 in number. So a pitched battle was fought near the village of Marea [1], and the Egyptians won the day. Apries was taken captive, carried off, and finally strangled. Amasis ordered the affairs of the kingdom as he deemed expedient, and ruled Egypt according to law,
6 winning great approbation [2]. He also conquered the cities of Cyprus, and adorned many of the temples with notable offerings. After a reign of fifty-five years, his life came to an end at the time when Cambyses, King of Persia, marched against Egypt, in the third year of the 63rd. Olympiad, the winner in the 200 yards foot-race being Parmenides of Camarina.

LXIX Now that I have given an adequate account of the history of the kings of Egypt from the most ancient times to the death of Amasis, I shall post-
2 pone the sequel to the appropriate dates. I shall now deal briefly with the customs of the Egyptians, mentioning the usages that are most striking and most instructive for the reader. For many of the ancient customs which arose in Egypt not only gained approbation from the natives there,
3 but were admired exceedingly by the Greeks. Wherefore the chief among

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[1] Marea, on the Mareotic Lake, was the frontier garrison of Egypt.

[2] The reign of Amasis or Ahmose, 569-526 B.C., i.e., 44 years, not 55 as Diodorus says, was one of the golden ages of Egyptian history : cf. Hdt., II, 172-182, III, 10. 2.

those distinguished in education were eager to cross over to Egypt in order to learn the customs and practices there, which they deemed note-
4 worthy. For although for the above-mentioned reasons the country in olden times was difficult for foreigners to enter, nevertheless Orpheus and the poet Homer, among the ancients, were eager to cross over to Egypt, and, in later times, Pythagoras of Samos, Solon the lawgiver, and
5 many others. Now the Egyptians declare that it was in Egypt that the discovery of letters was made and the first observation of the stars was taken; and further that the theorems of geometry and most of the arts
6 were invented there, and the best laws laid down. The strongest proof of this, they say, is the fact that for more than 4,700 years the kings of Egypt were for the most part natives of the country, and the land was the most prosperous in the whole world. This (they argue) could never have been so, had not the inhabitants followed the best customs and laws
7 and the finest practices in their whole education. So I shall pass by all the casual inventions of Herodotus[1] and other historians of Egypt, who instead of keeping to the truth, wilfully preferred to make up tales and recount marvels for entertainment's sake; and I shall set forth the actual results of my zealous examination of the records kept among their archives by the Egyptian priests.

LXX First of all, then, their kings[2] lived differently from all other holders of monarchical office, who act always according to their own deliberate choice, and are subject to no scrutiny. Statutes of law regulated everything for them—not only their official life, but also their private life's
2 daily routine. Among their personal attendants there was no slave either bought in the market or home-bred : all were sons of the most distinguished priests, they were men over twenty years of age, who had been given the finest education in the country, so that the king, having the best men to attend to his person and to watch by his side constantly, day and night, might fall into no bad practices. For no ruler goes to excess in
3 vice, unless he has some who minister to his desires. The hours of both

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[1] Diodorus has praise for Herodotus in 37. 4; but it is only in modern times that the accuracy of Herodotus in many respects has been proved.

[2] This account of the obligations of an Egyptian king is based, as Diodorus claims above, upon Egyptian records.

day and night were prescribed, so that at the entirely appropriate times
4 the king did what was enjoined, not what he himself resolved to do. On being awakened early in the morning, he must first take the letters sent to him from all parts, so that he might be able duly to transact all his business and negotiations, with accurate knowledge of all that was happening throughout the kingdom. Then he had a bath, and after donning splendid raiment and decking his person with the insignia of royalty, he
5 made sacrifice to the gods. When the victims had been brought to the altar, it was customary for the chief priest to stand beside the king and pray in a loud voice, in presence of the assembled Egyptians, that health should be granted to the king, with all other blessings, so long as he
6 observed just dealing towards his subjects. It was necessary also for the chief priest to make free and open acknowledgment of the king's virtues in detail, declaring that he showed piety towards the gods and signal clemency towards men : that he was temperate, just, and magnanimous; that he knew no deceit, gave freely of his goods, and in general was superior to all desires; that in punishing an offence he would impose a penalty less than was due, while he rewarded benefactors by making a
7 return greater than the service rendered. After recounting many other virtues similar to these, the officiating priest finally offered prayers for sins of ignorance, exempting the king from blame, and asking that the mischief and the penalty should fall upon the ministers who gave him
8 unworthy counsels. This the priest did, both to guide the king towards religious reverence and piety, and to accustom him to an exemplary manner of living, not through stern admonition, but through agreeable
9 eulogies, tending most directly to virtue. Thereafter, when the king, by inspecting the entrails of a calf, had obtained good omens, the sacred scribe read aloud from the holy books certain profitable counsels and deeds of the most illustrious men, so that he who governed the whole land might be guided to the appointed administration of the parts by pondering in
10 his mind the finest principles of action. For not only was the time prescribed to do business or to judge, but also the time to take a walk, to bathe, and to lie with his wife, and in general the time for all the activi-
11 ties of life. It was the king's custom to eat tender meats : he partook solely of veal and goose, and drank a fixed amount of wine, not enough
12 to cause an untimely surfeit or drunkenness. In general, the details of

his life were so harmoniously ordered that it seemed to have been not a law-giver, but the best of physicians who had drawn them up with a view

LXXI to good health. While it appears extraordinary that the king should not have complete freedom to choose his daily food, it was far more surprising that he was not allowed either to judge or to do any ordinary business, or to punish anyone from insolence, anger, or any other unjust cause,

2 but only as the laws dealing with each case enjoined. Although acting thus according to custom, the kings were far from chafing at heart or taking offence : on the contrary, they deemed that theirs was a most blessed

3 life. For they believed that other men, while foolishly indulging their natural passions, performed many acts involving losses or dangers, and ofttimes some, though conscious that they were about to go astray, none the less performed wicked deeds, being constrained by love or hate or some other passion; whereas the kings themselves, having striven after the life that was approved by the wisest men, fell into none but the slight-

4 est errors. As the kings behaved so justly towards their subjects, the common people in their goodwill to their rulers went far beyond the affection of kinsfolk. For not only the college of priests, but all the Egyptians together cared more for the king's safety than for their wives

5 and children and all their possessions. Therefore, for a very long time they maintained the political constitution set up by the kings we speak of; and they continued to enjoy a very happy life, so long as this system of laws lasted, and further they conquered numerous nations and acquired vast stores of wealth, and adorned their provinces with unparalleled monuments and structures, their cities with costly votive offerings of all kinds.

LXXII The ceremonies performed in Egypt after the death of a king gave ample proof of the goodwill of the common people to their rulers. For the honour thus paid out of gratitude to one who could not perceive it,

2 contained genuine evidence of sincerity. When one of their kings departed this life, there was universal mourning among the Egyptians : they rent their raiment, closed their temples, abstained from sacrifice, and held no festivals for seventy-two days. With garments of fine linen girt round beneath their breasts, and their heads daubed over with mud, men and women together walked about in companies of 200 or 300. Keeping time as they sang their dirge, they honoured the departed with

eulogies twice a day, recalling his virtues, while they partook of no food either from living creatures or from wheat, and they abstained from wine
3 and every luxury. No one would have chosen to bathe, or anoint himself, or sleep on soft bedding; nor indeed would anyone have ventured to indulge in sexual intercourse; but just as if a beloved child had died, each one suffered exceedingly and mourned for the stated number of days.
4 During this time they had made splendid preparations for the funeral rites; and on the last day of mourning they placed the coffin containing the body in front of the entrance to the tomb, and according to law they
5 set up a tribunal on the conduct of the departed in his lifetime. Anyone who pleased was allowed to denounce the dead king; but the priests uttered eulogies recounting all his noble deeds, while the common people in their thousands, assembled for the funeral, listened and joined in the praises, if the king had in fact lived a good life; but on the other hand if
6 the reverse was the case, they raised a clamour. Many of the kings were robbed of their lawful public burial through the opposition of the mob : hence it happened that those succeeding to the kingship acted justly, not only for the reasons already mentioned, but also through fear of outrage to their bodies after death and of a name eternally accursed. These then are the most important of the customs relating to the kings of old.

LXXIII Egypt as a whole is divided into several parts, each of which is called in Greek speech a *nome* : and over each is a *nomarch* who has complete
2 oversight and control. Of the three regions into which the whole country is divided, the first is held by the college of priests[1], who enjoy the highest regard among the people because of their attention to religion and because of the very great wisdom which these priests show as a result
3 of their education. Out of their revenues they perform all the sacrifices in Egypt, maintaining their assistants and supplying their own needs. For they deem themselves bound not to alter divine worship, which is

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[1] For the caste system of Ancient Egypt, see Hdt., ii, 164-168; Strabo, xvii, p. 787; Plato, *Tim.*, p. 24; Isocrates, *Busir.*, 15, 16. All give priests and warriors as the first two classes, but differ thereafter. The priesthoods were hereditary (*infra*, 88. 2) : so was the warrior rank (73. 9) and others; but the Greek belief was two much systematized, e.g. members of the same family could belong to different classes.

performed always by the same priests and in similar fashion; nor should
4 the supreme counsellors be in lack of necessities. For in general these priests, taking counsel on the most important matters, associate constantly with the king, acting sometimes as his coadjutors, sometimes as guides and instructors : by means of astronomy and the inspection of entrails they foretell the future, and from the records in the sacred books they
5 read aloud in public profitable histories. Not as in Greece, has one man merely or one woman, assumed the priesthood : in Egypt many devote their lives to divine sacrifice and worship, and hand down the same profession to their descendants. These priests are exempt from all taxes,
6 and rank next to the king in reputation and authority. The second region has been taken over by the kings to furnish revenue : out of this they find supplies for war and maintain their own splendid state, rewarding brave deeds with bounties according to desert, and, thanks to their affluence from this source, not exacting from their subjects such contributions as
7 would plunge them into debt. The last region is held by the class called warriors, who answer to the duties of military service; the object of this is that those hazarding their lives should be in the highest degree loyal to the country because of their ownership of land, and should zealously
8 face the dangers incident to warfare. For it would be absurd to entrust the safety of all to those who had no serious or worthy share in the country for which they were to fight. Most important of all, being in affluent circumstances, they would readily beget children, and thus provide a large population so that the country would have no need of mercenary
9 troops. Likewise, as they receive their rank in succession to their ancestors, these men are spurred on to valour by the valiant deeds of their fathers, and being from boyhood zealous of warlike achievements, they come to be invincible in deeds of daring and in the practice of warfare.

LXXIV There are three other classes in the state—the herdsmen, the farmers, and the artisans. The farmers, who lease for a small rent the fertile lands belonging to the king, the priests, and the warriors, continue all their lives to devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil. Being trained from infancy in agricultural pursuits, they far surpass in experience the
2 farmers of all others nations. For they have more accurate knowledge than all others, of the character of the soil, of irrigation, of seed-time, harvest, and the in-gathering of crops, having learned partly from obser-

3 vations made by their ancestors, partly from their own experience. The same account holds good of the herdsmen. They receive by law from their fathers like an inheritance the care of animals, and they spend their
4 whole lifetime rearing cattle. From their ancestors they have inherited much lore on the best way of tending and rearing herds, but they discover not a little themselves, through their zealous devotion to this occupation; and, more astonishing still, owing to their extraordinary enthusiasm, the keepers of hens and geese by the scientific skill peculiar to them gather a prodigious number of fowls apart from the natural hatch-
5 ing which satisfies other men. For it is not by means of the mother birds that they hatch the eggs : they themselves with marvellous manipulation [1] match the active force of nature by their wisdom and scientific
6 skill. Moreover, one may observe the arts most highly developed in Egypt and perfected to attain their appropriate end. It is in Egypt alone that no artisan is allowed to take up any other work or any political post except that defined in law and handed down to him by his parents, so that neither envy of a teacher nor political distractions nor anything
7 else should clog his enthusiasm for his craft. In other nations one may observe craftsmen distracted in mind by many interests and, through their greed of gain, not keeping wholly to their own occupation. Some take up agriculture, some engage in trade, others practise two or three crafts at one time. In democratic states, the craftsmen, gathering together in numbers in the assemblies, ruin the constitution, while they claim their reward from the givers of bribes. In Egypt on the other hand, if a craftsman takes part in politics or practises more than one craft, he is liable to severe penalties.

8 Such, then, was the division of the state, and such the ancestral care
LXXV of the individual station among the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. In regard to trials they showed no ordinary zeal, considering that sentences given in courts of justice exercised a very great influence upon social life
2 in two ways. For it was clear that the punishment of transgressors and the protection of the wronged would be the best means of repressing offences. If the fear which trials inspired in transgressors should be

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[1] Artificial incubation is an ancient practice.

removed by bribery or by favour, men would see confusion arise in the
3 nation's life. Hence by appointing as common judges the best citizens of the most notable towns, they attained their purpose. They selected judges from Heliopolis, Thebes, and Memphis, ten from each; and this council was regarded as in no way inferior to the Council of the Areopagus
4 in Athens or the Senate at Sparta. When the thirty assembled, they chose from their number the one outstanding member, and him they elected as chief judge : then, to take his place, the city sent another judge. To the judges the king furnished allowances of necessaries sufficient to maintain them, the chief judge receiving many times as much as the
5 others. He wore round his neck a gold chain to which was fastened a figure made of precious stones, and they called it Truth. They began
6 their debates whenever the chief judge put on the image of Truth. All the laws were inscribed in eight books, and these lay near the judges : it was the custom for the accuser to write out in detail the substance of his charge, how the offence took place, and the penalty for the wrong or injury; while the defendant, taking the statement made by his adversaries, answered each point in writing, arguing that he did not commit the offence, or that although guilty he had done no wrong, or that although
7 he did wrong, he did not deserve so great a penalty. Next, according to their usage, the accuser replied in writing, and the defendant again made a counter-statement. When both adversaries had twice presented their written pleas to the judges, the thirty had then to find a verdict among themselves, and the chief judge appended the figure of Truth to one of
LXXVI the pleas. This was the way in which the Egyptians conducted all their trials, considering that, if advocates spoke, they would bring much obscurity into justice. For the orator's art, the spell of his delivery, and the tears of those in danger induce many to disregard the rigour of the law
2 and the strictness of truth. At any rate, it is observed that judges who are praised at a trial are often carried away by the power of the advocates, whether through deceit or persuasive charm or the feeling of pity. If, on the other hand, litigants wrote out their pleas, trials would be strictly just, the Egyptians thought, since the bare facts would be examined.
3 By this system above all, men of genius would have no advantage over the duller-witted, nor practised litigants over inexperienced, nor liars and bold rogues over lovers of truth and men of sedate and modest character.

All men would obtain justice on an equal footing; for the litigants would have sufficient time according to law to examine one another's statements, and the judges sufficient time to compare the allegations of both parties.

LXXVII Since mention has been made of legislation, it is not inappropriate, I think, to my present inquiry to set forth as many of the Egyptian laws as are remarkable for their antiquity or have assumed an extraordinary 2 form, or in general may be profitable to the studious reader. In the first place, then, the penalty for perjury in Egypt was death, on the ground that two heinous offences were comprised in it—impiety towards 3 the gods, and violation of the most binding pledge among men. Next, if anyone on a journey in Egypt should see a man being murdered or at any rate violently assaulted, and did not, although he could, rescue the victim, he must be put to death. But if, really and truly, through weakness he was powerless to give aid, he must at all costs inform against the miscreants and punish their lawlessness. He who neglected to do as the law enjoined was to be scourged with a prescribed number of stripes, 4 and be wholly deprived of food for three days. False accusers were liable to the penalty laid down for blackmailers, if they were actually 5 convicted. Further, all Egyptians were enjoined to make a declaration[1] to the government stating the sources of their income, and he who made a false declaration in this matter, or gained his livelihood unjustly, must of necessity be put to death. It is said that this law was brought back to 6 Athens by Solon when he visited Egypt. If anyone should wilfully kill a free man or a slave, the law enjoined that he should perish, partly from the desire to restrain all men from wicked courses by punishment, not according to the varying turns of fortune, but according to the intention of their deeds, partly that, by its care for slaves, it might teach men how much more necessary it was to refrain entirely from offences against free- 7 men. For parents who murdered their children death was not prescribed by law; but for three days and three nights in succession they were obliged to hold the corpse in their embrace under the surveillance of a public guard. For it was not deemed just to deprive of life those who had bestowed life on their children, but rather to deter men from such crimes by a discipline

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[1] For the census in Egypt, cf. Hdt., ii, 177. 2, and *supra,* 31. 7. It was an Egyptian practice to take a sort of census of inhabitants and their occupations.

8 involving grief and repentance. Upon children who murdered their parents the law imposed an extraordinary punishment. Those convicted of this crime must have their hands and feet lacerated by sharp stakes, and then be roasted alive over thorns. The Egyptians judged it the most heinous of men's sins to take life by violence from those who had given 9 them life. When condemned to death, women, if pregnant, were not executed until they had given birth. Many of the Greeks, too, have adopted this law, considering it utterly unjust that the innocent infant should share the same penalty as the guilty mother, and that because of a single transgression the penalty should be exacted from two; further, that, while the offence was committed in deliberate wickedness, the infant that was not yet sentient should be submitted to the same punishment; and, most weighty of all reasons, that, since the guilt had been imputed to the pregnant mother individually, it was far from fitting that the child 10 begotten in common by father and mother should be destroyed. For judges who save a criminal guilty of murder, and those who destroy an 11 entirely innocent infant should be regarded as equally bad judges. Such then, roughly, were the laws relating to murder which are reputed to have been particularly successful.

LXXVIII Among the other laws, that dealing with soldiers who deserted their ranks in battle or failed to carry out their general's commands, prescribed 2 as a penalty, not death but the utmost degradation. But if they should afterwards by valiant deeds transcend their degradation, the law restored them to their original freedom : for, on the one hand, the lawgiver held degradation to be a severer penalty than death, that so he might accustom all men to reckon dishonour as the greatest of evils; and, on the other hand, he considered that, while those put to death could do no service to society in general, those who were degraded would be the 3 cause of many blessings through their longing to regain freedom. As for those who revealed secrets to the enemy, the law enjoined that their tongues be cut out : those who made counterfeit coins or false measures and weights, or forged seals, scribes who falsified the records or deleted part of their contents, those who proffered false contracts, were all condemned to have both hands cut off. Thus the criminal, punished in that part of the body with which he had transgressed, himself bore until his dying day an irremediable hurt, and, warning all men by his personal

4 punishment, he deterred them from committing any similar crime. Laws about offences against women were also severe in Egypt. The punishment for the violation of a free woman was castration; for the Egyptians considered that the guilty man had in one lawless act committed the three most heinous sins—outrage, defilement, and confusion of children.
5 If a man committed adultery by consent he was sentenced to receive one thousand stripes, while the woman's nose was to be mutilated, the belief being that the woman who tricked herself out for illicit and intemperate pleasure ought to be deprived of the chief aids to beauty.

LXXIX The laws about private agreements are due, they say, to Bocchoris[1]. These enjoin that men who borrow money without a bond, if they repudiate the debt, should be released from it on taking an oath. The first intention of these laws was that men should set high value upon oaths,
2 and thus feel religious awe. For since it is manifest that one who has sworn many oaths will upon occasion renounce his pledge, everyone will hold it of prime importance not to have recourse to an oath, lest he be deprived of credit. Next, the lawgiver conceived that, by making the pledge depend entirely upon honour, he would encourage all men to be virtuous in character, so that they might avoid the reproach of being unworthy of a pledge. He further deemed it unjust that those who were trusted without oath should not gain credence if they took an oath about the same contract. On the other hand, those who lent money under a bond were prevented from making their capital more than double by
3 means of interest. The lawgiver allowed the exaction of a debt only from the property of a debtor : he absolutely forbade the debtor's person to be liable to seizure[2], considering that lands should belong to those who worked them or received them in a gift from the owner, whereas slaves should belong to the cities, so that the fitting duties might be performed both in peace and during war. For it seemed absurd that a soldier, while facing danger on behalf of his country, should upon occasion be arrested for debt by his creditor, and, to satisfy the grasping

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[1] Bocchoris : see *supra*, 65. 1.

[2] Enslavement of debtors for non-payment was the law of Ancient Egypt; and it became the law again in the 6th century B.C. under Amasis, and also later in Ptolemaic Egypt.

4 greed of civilians, the common safety of all should be endangered. It seems that Solon brought back to Athens this law also, which he called "disburdenment"[1], acquitting all Athenians of debts lent upon their 5 persons. Some men blame the majority of Greek lawgivers, and not without reason; for they forbade weapons, ploughs, or any other essential implement to be taken as security for a debt, while they consented that those who would use them should be liable to seizure.

LXXX The Egyptian law about thieves, too, was most peculiar. It required that those who wished to exercise this profession should make a declaration to the Arch-Thief, and should agree to report their thefts immediately to him; while the losers were to make a similar declaration in detail 2 of the objects lost, specifying the place, day, and hour of the loss. In this way all objects were readily found, but the loser had to pay a fourth of the value merely to recover what was his own. For, finding it impossible to keep all men from thieving, the lawgiver devised an expedient by which every loss might be retrieved at the expense of a small reward.

3 In Egypt priests marry one wife; other men, as many wives as they choose[2]. Parents are obliged to rear all their offspring in order to increase the population, on the ground that this contributes most to the prosperity of a land and its cities; and they regard no child as illegitimate, 4 even if the mother is a slave bought in the market. In general they hold the belief that the father alone is the cause of the birth, while the mother supplies the babe with food and home. They call fruit-bearing trees male, and those that yield no fruit female trees, the reverse of the Greek 5 usage. They rear their children with wholly incredible ease and economy, supplying them with boiled vegetables, which are cheap and readily procured, such stalks of the *byblus* plant[3] as may be roasted in the embers, and the roots and stems of marsh-plants, some raw, some boiled, 6 others roasted. As the majority of the children grow up barefoot and

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[1] Seisachtheia, "removal of burdens" : see Plutarch, *Solon*, 14.

[2] Nevertheless, monogamy seems to have been the rule in Egypt, except for kings and wealthy men. For the marshmen, see Hdt., ii, 92. 1.

[3] For the *byblus*, or papyrus, see Hdt., ii, 92. 5; Strabo, xvii, 1.15, p. 799 f. It was once so common in Lower Egypt that it was adopted as the hieroglyphic symbol of that division, but it has now disappeared.

naked, thanks to the fine climate of the country, a parent spends in all no more than twenty drachmae, until his child comes of age. It is for these reasons especially that Egypt comes to be exceptionally populous, and hence it is abundantly provided with great monuments.

LXXXI The priests teach their sons two kinds of writing [1], that called sacred and that relating to more general instruction. They practise more especially geometry [2] and arithmetic. For the Nile every year alters the outline of the land in manifold ways, and causes all manner of disputes between neighbours about boundaries. It is not easy to decide these disputes accurately unless a geometrician attains the truth by his art and experience. Arithmetic too is useful to them in ordinary business and in the theorems of geometry; and besides, it contributes no slight aid to those who practise astronomy [3]. It is indeed in Egypt, if anywhere, that the positions and movements of the stars receive careful observation. For an incredible number of years the Egyptians have preserved records of such details, since this study has been zealously pursued among them from remote times; and they have observed with the most ardent care the movements, orbits, and stations of the planets, and also the influence of each in implanting virtues and vices at the birth of living creatures [4]. They are often successful in foretelling future events in the lives of men; and not infrequently, they presage failure of harvests, or, on the other hand, abundant crops, or predict that widespread plagues will fall upon men or cattle; and by observation long before the event, they have foreknowledge of earthquakes, inundations, the appearance of comets, and all that is regarded by most men as impossible of prediction. They claim, too, that the Chaldeans in Babylon are a colony from Egypt, and owe their reputation for astronomy to their lessons from the priests of Egypt. The rest of the people of Egypt learn in boyhood from their

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[1] Two kinds of writing (as in HDT., II, 36. 4), the sacred including both hieroglyphic and hieratic, the other being demotic. In III. 4, DIODORUS describes the nature of hieroglyphs.

[2] Geometry, arithmetic : see PLATO, *Laws*, VII, p. 819 A; HDT., II, 109; STRABO, XVII, p. 787.

[3] Astronomy : *supra*, 50. 1.

[4] For horoscopes, see HDT., II, 82. 1.

fathers or kinsmen the pursuits pertaining to a particular way of life, as I have already said. Boys are taught letters for a short time, not by all fathers, however, but above all by those who are practising crafts. It is not customary among them to learn wrestling [1] and music [2]. For they hold that from daily exercises in the wrestling school, young men will not gain health, but only a temporary and altogether precarious strength; and they regard music as being not only unprofitable, but actually harmful, on the ground that it effeminates the listener's soul.

LXXXII In prevention of diseases, the Egyptians follow a treatment of clysters, fasting, and emetics [3], sometimes daily, sometimes at intervals of three 2 or four days. For they say that of all the food that is distributed throughout the body, the greater part is superfluous and breeds diseases; and so the above treatment, destroying the beginnings of the disease, would most 3 surely establish health. During military expeditions and sojourns in the country all are treated without any charge to the individual; for doctors are maintained by the state, and the treatment they prescribe is based upon written formulae, composed by many ancient physicians of repute. And if, after following the rules read out of the sacred book, they are unable to save the patient's life, they are acquitted as free from guilt and reproach; but if they do anything contrary to the regulations, they undergo trial for life or death; for the lawgiver considered that few would ever be more intelligent than the eminent practitioners who formulated this treatment which had been observed from ages past.

LXXXIII The ceremonies in regard to the sacred animals [4] of the Egyptians naturally seem to many people extraordinary and worthy of investigation. For in Egypt certain animals are worshipped with excessive reverence not only during their lifetime, but also after their death,—animals such as cats, ichneumons, and dogs, hawks and ibises (as the Egyptians call them), wolves, crocodiles, and many others similar to these. I shall try

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[1] Herodotus (II, 91) mentions a gymnastic contest at Chemmis (now Akhmîm).

[2] For Egyptian music, see Hdt., II, 79; Plato, *Laws*, II, p. 656 f.

[3] For clysters and emetics, cf. Hdt., II, 77. 2, and the medical papyri of Ancient Egypt.

[4] On the sacred animals, cf. Hdt., II, 65-76, and see Sourdille, *Hérodote et la Religion d'Égypte.*

2 to give the reasons for this cult, after first describing it briefly. First of all, to each species of animal enjoying worship, land is consecrated, yielding a revenue sufficient for its food and maintenance. The Egyptians also offer prayers to certain gods on behalf of children saved from 3 illness. They shave their heads and weigh the hair against a sum of silver or gold[1] : this money they give to those who tend the sacred animals. The keepers of the hawks, cutting up meat for them and calling in a loud voice, throw it up to them in the air until they catch it : for the cats and ichneumons they set down, with a coaxing sound, bread soaked in milk, or else feed them with raw slices of fish from the Nile. Similarly, in the case of the other animals, they supply each kind with fitting 4 food. As for the public duties relating to this cult, the Egyptians are very far from shirking them, or from being ashamed to be observed by the common people : on the contrary, they take pride in the ceremonies, as if they were conducting the solemn worship of the gods, and with the peculiar symbols they make procession round the towns and in the country. Passers-by, recognising from a distance which animals they have in 5 their care, do obeisance and worship them. When one of these animals dies, they wrap it in fine linen and, beating their breasts amid lamentation, they bear it to be embalmed. Then, when it has been anointed with cedar oil and such substances as can bestow fragrance and preserve 6 the body for a long time, they bury it in a sacred coffin[2]. Whoever deliberately destroys one of these animals, is put to death[3]; and in the case of a cat or the ibis, whoever kills one, whether deliberately or not, is inexorably put to death; for the people rush upon the murderer and 7 subject him to terrible treatment, sometimes without trial. Dreading such a fate, those who catch sight of one of these animals dead, stand at a distance and utter loud cries, lamenting and testifying that they have 8 found it dead. So deeply implanted in the people's breasts is their religious awe of these animals, so unalterable the feelings of each Egyptian

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[1] Cf. Hdt., II, 65. 4.

[2] Sacred coffins are mentioned by Herodotus also (II, 67).

[3] The same punishment for killing a sacred animal with intention is recorded in Hdt., II, 65. 5. According to Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.*, V, 27. 78) it was a capital offence to kill an ibis, a snake, a cat, a dog, or a crocodile.

for their worship, that in the days before King Ptolemy[1] was styled the friend of Rome, while the common people were taking all possible pains to do honour to sojourners from Italy and in their fear were anxious to give no occasion for reproach or war, when a certain Roman killed a cat, the crowd rushed to the murderer's house; and neither the officials sent by the king to intercede, nor the universal fear of Rome availed to save the man from punishment, although he had committed the deed unin-
9 tentionally. And this is no hearsay tale : I was myself an eyewitness of
LXXXIV the occurence during my sojourn in Egypt. If this account appears to many to be incredible and fabulous, what I am now about to say will appear much more extraordinary. Once when Egypt was in the grip of famine, they say that many of the people in their hunger laid hands on one another, but no one was even accused of having partaken of any one
2 of the sacred animals. Furthermore, all the dwellers in a house in which a dog has been found dead shave their whole bodies[2] and go into mourning; and, more astonishing still, if there happens to be wine or grain or any of the necessaries of life stored in rooms where one of these beasts
3 had died, they cannot bear to make use of the food for any purpose. If Egyptian soldiers are on service anywhere in a foreign land, they pay ransom for cats and hawks, and bring them back to Egypt. This they
4 do even at times when provisions are falling short. The ceremonies relating to Apis at Memphis, Mnevis at Heliopolis, the he-goat of Mendes[3], the crocodile in Lake Moeris, the lion kept in the town called Leontopolis[4], and many others, would be easy to describe; but it would be hard to win credence for one's account from those who have not seen them.
5 These animals are kept in sacred enclosures, and are tended by many of the notables, who give them the most costly fare. They boil either the finest wheaten flour or groats in milk, and knead honey-cakes of all kinds; they take the flesh of geese, and boil one part and roast another : thus they maintain a never-failing supply of food. For the flesh-eating animals they catch a large number of birds to throw to them, and in

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(1) Ptolemy XIII, Auletes, 80-51 B.C. : the date of this incident was 59 B.C.
(2) After the natural death of a cat, they shave their eyebrows only (Hdt., II, 66.5).
(3) Cf. Hdt., II, 46. Mendes lay in the N.-E. part of the Delta.
(4) Leontopolis, not far from Mendes : see Strabo, XVII, p. 802.

6 general, they take great pains to secure costly food. They never cease giving them warm baths, anointing them with the finest perfumes, and burning fragrant incense of all kinds; and they furnish them with the most costly beds and splendid finery. They take the greatest care that the animal may associate with their kind, and besides they rear along with each animal the most comely females of the same species, which they call mistresses, tending them with the greatest expense and dutiful care.
7 If an animal should die, they mourn for it like parents bereft of beloved children; and in its funeral, instead of keeping within their means, they
8 far outspend the value of their possessions. After the death of Alexander [1], for instance, when Ptolemy, son of Lagus, had just taken possession of Egypt, it happened that Apis died of old age at Memphis. Its keeper spent upon the funeral the whole of the very considerable wealth which had been amassed for its maintenance, and borrowed from Ptolemy fifty talents of silver besides. In our time too, some of the keepers of these animals have spent upon a funeral no less than one hundred talents.

LXXXV I must add to my account the rest of the ceremonies relating to the sacred bull called Apis [2]. When it dies and is buried with splendid obsequies, the priests concerned with these search for a calf bearing on
2 its body marks similar to those on the deceased bull. When they have found one, the people are relieved from their mourning, and those of the priests whose duty it is lead the calf first to Nilopolis [3] where they feed it for forty days; then they set it aboard a state-barge with a gilded chamber, and bring it like a god to the temple of Hephaestus at Memphis.
3 During these forty days it is seen only by women who stand facing it and, lifting up their dresses, expose themselves; but at all other times they
4 are forbidden to come in sight of this god. Some suggest the following reason for the worship of Apis : when Osiris died, his soul passed into this bull, and therefore at every manifestation of Osiris down to the
5 present day, it continues to enter into the bull's descendants. But others say that when Osiris was murdered by Typhon, Isis collected his

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[1] 323 B.C.

[2] For Apis or "Hapi", see Hdt., ii, 38, 153; iii, 27, 28.

[3] Nilopolis : El Lahûn or Illahûn, on the Baḥr Yûsuf.

members[1] and set them in a wooden cow wrapped round with fine linen (*byssus*), and that therefore the city was named Busiris[2]. Many other tales are told about Apis, but I think it would be tedious to recount them in detail.

LXXXVI All the ceremonies which the Egyptians perform for the animals they worship are strange and incredible, causing great perplexity to those who 2 investigate the origin of the ritual. Their priests possess on this subject a secret doctrine, which I have already mentioned[3] in my account of their religion; but the majority of Egyptians give the three reasons which follow. The first is altogether legendary and suggestive of primitive 3 simplicity. It is said that the gods, created in the beginning, were few in number and overpowered by the multitude and the lawlessness of earthborn men : they therefore assumed the semblance of certain animals, and in some such manner eluded the violence and savagery of their enemies. Afterwards, when they became masters of the whole universe, in gratitude to the authors of their safety in the beginning, they consecrated the species of animals whose forms they had assumed, and taught men to give them costly maintenance while they lived, and obsequies 4 when they died. The second explanation given is that of old the Egyptians, being defeated by their neighbours in many battles through confusion in the army, devised the plan of bearing a standard over each bat- 5 talion. So they fashioned, it is said, images of the animals which are now worshipped, and the leaders bore them fixed upon javelins. In this way each man recognised to which detachment he belonged. As the resulting good order contributed greatly to their victory, they regarded the animals as having been the causes of their safety. Wishing therefore to show gratitude to them, they established it is a custom never to kill any of the animals represented by an image at that time, but to worship LXXXVII them and assign to them the already described care and honour. The third reason which is offered in the discussion of sacred animals is the

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[1] Cf. *supra*, 21. 5.

[2] Busiris really is "bu (pe)-Âsiri" or "town of Osiris" : there were several places of this name. See Hdt., ii, 59, 61; Plut., *Is. et Osir.*, 21, p. 359 C. For King Busiris, see *supra*, 45. 4.

[3] *Supra*, 21.

contribution made by each of them towards the service of society in general and of mankind. 2 The cow, for instance, produces oxen for hard work, and herself ploughs light soil : sheep bear lambs twice a year, and their wool furnishes protection and at the same time preserves decorum; milk and cheese supply agreeable and abundant nourishment. The dog is useful in hunting and as a guard : hence the Egyptians represent the god whom they call Anubis with a dog's head, to symbolise that he acted as body-guard to the followers of Osiris and Isis. 3 Some say that, while Isis was searching for Osiris, dogs led her on her way, and kept off wild beasts and people meeting her. In their affection for her, too, they joined in the search, barking as they went. That is why at the festival of Isis, dogs lead the way in the procession, the originators of this practice testifying the ancient feeling of gratitude to the animal. 4 The cat is well-adapted to cope with deadly asps and other venomous serpents; while the ichneumon[1] watches the crocodile laying eggs, seizes some, and crushes them to pieces. This task it carries out with care and zeal, although it gains no advantage therefrom. 5 But for this, the number of crocodiles hatched would make the river impassable. The crocodiles themselves too are killed by the ichneumon in an extraordinary and altogether incredible manner. While the crocodiles are lying on dry land sleeping with open mouths, the ichneumons which are rolling about in the mud, jump through their mouths into their bodies. Then, by rapidly gnawing a way through the belly, they escape without danger to themselves; but the crocodiles so treated become corpses straightway. 6 Among birds the ibis[2] is useful to cope with snakes, locusts, amd caterpillars; the hawk[3], to cope with scorpions, horned serpents, and the little stinging creatures most deadly to man. 7 Some say that the latter bird is worshipped because seers use hawks as birds of omen in foretelling the future to the Egyptians. 8 Others declare that in ancient times a hawk brought to the priests

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[1] Ichneumon : *supra,* 35. 7. Strabo (XVII, p. 812) also tells how the ichneumon brings death to crocodile and to asp.

[2] Ibis : See Hdt., II, 76; Strabo, XVII, 2. 4, p. 823; Cicero, *de Nat. Deorum,* I, 36.

[3] Hawk : sacred to the sun, used as an emblem of Osiris, and later as hieroglyph for "god".

at Thebes a book wound about with a crimson thread and containing a written account of the worship and privileges of the gods. That is why the sacred scribes wear a crimson thread and a hawk's feather on their

9 heads. Again, the eagle is honoured by the Thebans because it is re-

XXXVIII garded as a royal bird, worthy of Zeus. They deify the goat for the same reason as, they say, Priapus is held in honour among the Greeks, because of its organ of generation. For this animal is exceedingly lustful, and its genital organ receives fitting honour, as being the arch-procreator of

2 the species of animals. Moreover, not only Egyptians but also many other nations have consecrated the *phallus* in their rites, as being the cause of the creation of living things. In Egypt the priests who succeed to the ancestral priesthoods are initiated first into the service of this god.

3 For the same reason the Pans and the Satyrs, they say, are honoured among men : hence, in temples their images are generally set up with penis erect, like that of the goat. For this animal is traditionally said to be most active in sexual intercourse. To those deities, then, by this representation, the Egyptians show gratitude for their large families.

4 The sacred bulls, I mean Apis and Mnevis, were honoured like gods at the bidding of Osiris, partly because of their usefulness in agriculture, partly too, because the renown of the discoverers of crops has by their labours been handed down to posterity for all time. The sacrifice of tawny bulls[1] however, was permitted in the belief that Typhon who plotted against Osiris and was punished by Isis for the murder of her

5 husband, was of such a colour. In olden times too, men of the same colour as Typhon were sacrificed[2], they say, by the kings at the tomb of Osiris. Among the Egyptians, moreover, few are found ruddy, whereas the majority of foreigners are of this colour. Hence, about the murder of foreigners by Busiris, the story prevails among the Greeks that it does not refer to the king called Busiris, but to the tomb of Osiris which

6 was so named in Egyptian speech. Wolves are worshipped, they say, owing to their physical resemblance to dogs. They differ little from one

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[1] For the sacrifice of red cattle, see Plut., *Is. et Osir.*, 31, and cf. *O. T. Numbers*, XIX, 2.

[2] Herodotus rejects this tradition of human sacrifice : he refers to the story of Busiris as ''a very foolish tale''.

another in characteristics, and breed in mixed unions. Another reason which Egyptians offer for the worship of this animal is more legendary. They say that of old when Isis, along with her son Horus, was about to do battle with Typhon, Osiris in the outward semblance of a wolf, came back from Hades to aid his wife and son. On the death of Typhon, the victors instituted the worship of the animal whose appearance on the 7 scene was followed by victory. But others say that when the Ethiopians marched against Egypt, packs of wolves which had gathered in great numbers drove the invaders out of the country beyond the town called Elephantine. That is why this nome was called Lycopolite, and why these animals received divine worship.

LXXXIX It remains for me to tell of the deification of crocodiles, about which most writers raise this difficulty : since these beasts devour the flesh of men, how did it come to be ordained by law that worship equal to the 2 gods' should be given to animals which inflict such cruel injuries? They say, then, that the security of the country is maintained, not only by the river, but much more by the crocodiles in it. Thus the freebooters of Arabia and Libya do not venture to swim across the Nile, fearing the multitude of crocodiles. This could never have been the case if the animals had been treated as enemies and had been exterminated by drag-net 3 fishermen. Another account is also current about these beasts. It is said that one of the ancient kings, the king named Menas, was pursued by his own dogs and took refuge in the lake called Moeris; whereupon he was miraculously picked up by a crocodile and carried across to the other side. Wishing to reward the animal for saving him, he founded a city near by, and called it Crocodilopolis [1]. He also instructed the natives to worship these beasts like gods, and dedicated the lake to their maintenance. There too, he constructed his own tomb in the shape of a four-sided pyramid, and built the much admired Labyrinth [2].

4 A similar explanation is given in the other cases also, but it would be

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[1] Crocodilopolis, near the modern Medinet-el-Fayûm : cf. Hdt., ii, 148. Strabo (xvii, 1.38, p. 811) calls the town Arsinoe (its later name).

[2] This marvellous building Diodorus has already (61. 2) ascribed to Mendes : he has also described it in 66. 3-6 as the tomb of the twelve kings. Manetho rightly attributes it to a king of the 12th dynasty (really Amenemhêt III).

tedious to go into details. These customs, it is said, have been developed for the advantage of the nation's life : this is evident to all from the fact that some men do not partake of many of the food-stuffs of their district. Some refrain altogether from tasting lentils, others from beans, some again from cheese, onions, or other food, although these are abundant in Egypt. The explanation clearly is that they must have been taught to abstain from useful articles of diet, and that, if all men ate all things, of
5 none of the things consumed would there have been sufficient. Some allege other reasons, and hold that, in the time of the kings of old, the common people often conspired in revolt against their rulers. So one of the kings, showing remarkable wisdom, divided the country into several regions, and in each of them he instructed the natives to worship a certain animal or to refrain from eating a certain kind of food, so that, while each group revered its own object of worship, and despised what the others held sacred, the Egyptians might never be able to unite as a whole.
6 This (they say) is evident from the results; for all who live in neighbouring regions are at variance with one another, being offended at transgressions of their usages.

XC Others, again, give the following reason for the consecration of animals. In the beginning when men were leaving the savage life, and were gathering together, at first they ate one another and waged war, the more powerful always prevailing over the weaker. Thereafter those of inferior strength, prompted by self-interest, came together and chose as their emblem one of the animals afterwards held sacred. The timid spirits rallied round this emblem, and formed a band not lightly to be despised
2 by the attacking party. As the others followed the same plan, the people were divided into bands, and the animal that was the cause of safety to each group obtained divine honours, as having conferred the greatest benefits. Hence down to the present time the tribes of Egypt in their separate groups worship the animals originally consecrated among them. In general, they say, above all other men the Egyptians are gratefully disposed to any source of benefit, as they consider that the return of favour to one's benefactors is the strongest bulwark of society. For it is clear that all men will be eager to confer benefits upon those, above all, whom they observe likely to treasure up gratitude best towards their
3 benefactors. It is for the same reasons, it seems, that Egyptians do

obeisance to their kings and honour them as being in reality gods, partly because they believe that it is not without some divine providence that the kings have gained authority over all, partly because they hold that those who have both the desire and the ability to confer the greatest
4 benefits are partakers in the divine nature. If, then, I have expatiated lengthily upon the sacred animals, at all events I have made a thorough investigation of the very astonishing customs of the Egyptians.

XCI Anyone who learns of the Egyptian rites regarding the dead will marvel much at the singularity of their customs. On the death of an Egyptian all his kinsmen and friends daub their heads over with mud and walk through the town lamenting until the body finds burial. They take no baths nor wine nor any food worthy of mention; nor do they wear gay
2 apparel. There are three manners of burial [1],—one very costly, one of medium cost, and one very mean. For the first method, the expense is said to be a talent of silver; for the second, twenty minae; and for the
3 last, quite a trifling sum of money. Now those who attend to the bodies are craftsmen who have inherited their skill from their forefathers. They set before the relatives of the deceased an estimate of the expenses of each manner of burial, and inquire in which way they wish the body to
4 be treated. Having come to an agreement on all points, and having received the corpse, they hand it over to those to whom the customary treatment has been entrusted. First the body is laid on the ground, and the *grammateus*, as he is called (or scribe), outlines upon the left flank the extent of the incision to be made. Next, the *paraschistes*, as they call him (or cutter), takes an Ethiopian stone [2], and having cut through the flesh as the law ordains, forthwith makes off at a run, pursued by the bystanders, who pelt him with stones, and invoke curses upon him as if they were diverting the pollution upon him. For they hold as accursed anyone who inflicts violence upon the body of a fellow-tribes-
5 man, wounding it or at least doing it some mischief. The embalmers,

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[1] Diodorus here gives some details not mentioned by Hdt., ii, 86. See Smith and Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*.

[2] Knives of flint (found nowadays in graves along with mummies) were used as ritual implements, although metal tools had been in common use for many centuries.

on the other hand, are deemed worthy of all honour and esteem : they associate with the priests and enter temples without let or hindrance as being pure. When they have assembled for the treatment of the corpse which has been cut open, one of them thrusts his hand through the incision into the body, and removes everything but the kidneys and the heart[1]; while another cleanses each of the entrails, washing them with 6 palm wine and with essences. In general, every body is given treatment, first with cedar oil and other things for more than thirty days, then with myrrh, cinnamon, and substances which can not only preserve it for a long time, but also bestow fragrance. When the treatment is finished, they give the body back to the kinsmen of the deceased, with each of its parts so perfectly preserved that even the eyelashes and eyebrows remain as they were, and the whole appearance of the body is quite unchanged, 7 the cast of the features being recognisable. Hence many of the Egyptians keep their ancestors' bodies in costly shrines, and look face to face upon those who have died many generations before they themselves were born; and accordingly, as they behold the stature of each man, the proportions of his body, and the lineaments of his face, they experience a strange emotion, just as if their ancestors were alive there before their eyes.

XCII When the body is ready for burial, the next-of-kin announce the date of the funeral to the judges and to the kinsmen and friends of the deceased; and mentioning the name of the departed, they solemnly declare that he 2 is about to cross the lake. Then, when forty-two judges have assembled and taken their seats in a semi-circular building on the other side of the lake, the *baris* (or barque)[2], previously equipped by those whose care it is, is launched under the charge of the ferryman whom the Egyptians 3 name in their language Charon. Hence they claim that Orpheus[3] crossed over in olden times to Egypt, and after beholding this rite, invented the legends about Hades, partly in imitation of what he saw in Egypt, 4 partly out of his own personal invention. About this I shall give a detailed account a little later. So, when the *baris* has been launched on the lake, before the coffin which contains the corpse is placed on board,

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(1) In mummies the heart is always found *in situ,* the kidneys generally.

(2) For a description of the *baris,* see Hdt., II, 96.

(3) Orpheus : *infra,* 96. 4-9.

anyone who wishes is privileged by law to denounce the deceased [1]. If, then, someone comes forward with an indictment, showing that he has lived a bad life, the judges declare their decision publicly, and the body is debarred from the customary burial. But if the accuser is deemed to
5 be making an unjust charge, he is sentenced to heavy fines. When no accuser answers the call, or when one comes forward and is recognised as a scandal-monger, the kinsmen cease their mourning and eulogise the deceased. Unlike the Greeks, they say nothing about his descent, for they hold that all Egyptians are of equally noble birth; but they recount his training and education from boyhood, then they celebrate the piety, justice, temperance, and other virtues of his manhood, and invoke the gods of the lower world to take him to dwell along with the pious. The crowd applauds the eulogy, and extols the renown of the deceased who is
6 to live for ever with the pious in Hades. Those who have private tombs lay the body in the place appointed : those who do not possess a tomb build a new shrine in their own house, and stand the coffin upright against the safest of the walls. Those who are, either by accusation or by a load of debt, debarred from burial, are laid in their own houses; and sometimes their children's children, having at length gained affluence, redeem the bonds, repeal the indictment, and celebrate their grandfather's fune-
XCIII ral with great magnificence. The most solemn care is shown among the Egyptians that their parents or ancestors should be seen receiving worship beyond the usual when they have removed to their eternal home. It is also customary in Egypt to give the bodies of deceased ancestors as security for a debt : those who fail to redeem them are dogged by the
2 greatest disgrace, with loss of funeral rites after their death. One may justly admire how those who established these institutions strove to introduce among the people virtue and purity of morals, not only as a result of the intercourse of the living, but also, as far as was possible, from the
3 sepulture and treatment of the dead. For the Greeks made use of invented fables and of discredited reports to form a traditional belief that the good will be rewarded and the wicked punished. However, so little power have these arguments to turn men to the virtuous life, that on the

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[1] Cf. *supra*, 72. 4-6.

contrary they are scoffed at by base men and are treated with much con-
4 tempt. Among the Egyptians, on the other hand, the punishment of the wicked and the recompense of the good are no fables, but visible truths : every day both the wicked and the good are reminded of their duties, and in this way the greatest and most beneficial improvement of morals takes place. In my opinion we must regard as the best laws, not those that will produce the greatest affluence, but those that will make the people the most virtuous in character and the best citizens.

XCIV I must also speak of the Egyptian lawgivers who instituted such novel and extraordinary practices. After the ancient Egyptian constitution, fabled to belong to the time of gods and heroes, the first, they say, who persuaded the people to obey written laws was Mneves, a great-hearted man, the most affable in manner of those whom we commemorate. He pretended that Hermes had given him these laws to be the source of great blessings, just as among the Greeks, Minos in Crete and Lycurgus in Lacedaemon alleged that laws had been bestowed on them, on the former
2 by Zeus, on the latter by Apollo. Among several other nations, too, this type of invention is said to have existed, a source of many blessings to believers. Among the Ariani, they tell that Zathraustes [1] claimed that the good spirit gave him laws; among the tribe called Getae [2], who believe in immortality, and among the Jews, Zalmoxis and Moses each made a similar claim of a gift from universal Hestia and from the god who is invoked as Iao. These men either judged that a conception which was likely to benefit a multitude of men was admirable and wholly divine, or assumed that the people would be more inclined to obey when they regarded the power and pre-eminence of those who were said to have devised
3 the laws. The second lawgiver, according to the Egyptians, was Sasychis [3], a man of remarkable wisdom. He increased the number of the existing laws, and most carefully regulated the worship of the gods; he was also the inventor of geometry, and taught his countrymen the con-
4 templation and observation of the stars. The third, they say, was King

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[1] Zoroaster or Zarathustra was the founder of the Magian religion in Persia.

[2] For the Getae near the Danube and their deity Zalmoxis or Salmoxis, see Hdt., iv, 93, 94; Strabo, vii, pp. 297, 298.

[3] Sasychis may be the same as Asychis (Hdt., ii, 136).

Sesoosis[1] who not only performed the most celebrated warlike exploits ever achieved by an Egyptian, but also established legislation dealing with the warrior class, and drew up all the consequent rules for military
5 service. As the fourth lawgiver they name King Bocchoris[2] who showed wisdom and excelled in unscrupulous cunning. He regulated all the king's prerogatives, and made precise laws about private agreements. He was also (they say) so sagacious as a judge that many of his decisions are remembered for their excellence down to our times. They add, however, that in physique he was utterly feeble, in character avaricious
XCV beyond all others. After him the next to deal with the laws, they say, was King Amasis. According to the Egyptian account, he regulated the government of the nomes and the whole administration of Egypt. Tradition says he showed himself more than usually wise, and of a virtuous and righteous character. It was because of this that the Egyptians had bestowed the sovereignty upon him, although he was not of royal descent.
2 The Eleans[3], they say, when giving anxious care to the Olympic games, sent envoys to him to inquire how these games could attain the strictest
3 justice : his reply was, "By excluding all Eleans from the contest". Polycrates[4], tyrant of Samos, had made a treaty of friendship with Amasis; but when Polycrates began to use violence both to his subjects and to foreigners who put in at Samos, Amasis is said to have first sent ambassadors to exhort him to moderation; but as he paid no heed to the advice, Amasis wrote a letter dissolving the bond of friendship and hospitality between them, and adding that he did not wish straightway to suffer grief himself, as he knew for certain that misfortune was imminent for one who was so notorious for tyranny. He was admired by the Greeks, they say, because of his nobility and because his prophecy to
4 Polycrates was speedily fulfilled. The sixth controller of the laws of Egypt is said to have been Darius, the father of Xerxes. Regarding with horror the lawless profanation of the Egyptian temples by the previous

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[1] Sesoosis : *supra*, 53-58.

[2] Bocchoris : *supra*, 65. 1, 79. 1.

[3] The story of the Eleans is assigned by Herodotus (II, 160) to the reign of Psammis.

[4] For the friendship of Amasis and Polycrates, see Hdt., III, 39-43, 125.

king Cambyses[1], Darius was zealously desirous of living a virtuous and
5 godfearing life. He held converse with the Egyptian priests themselves, and received instruction in theology and in the history recorded in the sacred books. Learning from these the magnanimity of the ancient kings and their goodwill towards their subjects, he emulated their conduct, and thereby won such esteem that he was the only king to receive the name of god from the Egyptians during his lifetime, while after his death he gained the same honours as the kings who had ruled in Egypt
6 of old according to the strictest law. These men, then, they say, perfected the general body of the law which has won widespread renown among the other nations. In later times many of these institutions which seemed to be well framed were tampered with, they say, when the Macedonians took possession and completely abolished the native monarchy.

XCVI Now that I have elucidated these matters, I must tell of all the Greeks, men celebrated for wisdom and culture, who crossed over to Egypt in ancient times in order to become acquainted with the institutions and
2 culture of the country. The Egyptian priests, from the records contained in the sacred books, claim as ancient visitors to their land Orpheus, Musaeus, Melampus[2], and Daedalus : besides these, the poet Homer, Lycurgus the Spartan, Solon of Athens, and Plato the philosopher. There came also Pythagoras of Samos, Eudoxus the mathematician, as well as
3 Democritus of Abdera, and Oenopides of Chios. In token of these claims, they point to statues of some of the Greeks, and to places and buildings named after others; they bring proofs from the culture which each zealously followed, to show that everything that caused these men to be
4 admired in Greece was borrowed from Egypt. Thus, Orpheus (they hold) brought back to Greece the greater part of his mystic rites, the ceremonies relating to his wanderings, and the legends about Hades.
5 For the rite of Osiris is the same as that of Dionysus, and the rite of Isis is very similar to that of Demeter, the names alone being changed. The punishment of the impious in Hades, the meadows of the blest, and the imaginative fictions in which the many believe, were introduced in imita-

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[1] Cambyses, 525-521 B.C.; Darius, 521-486 B.C.

[2] Melampus : see Hdt., II, 49, and *infra*, 97. 4.

6 tion of the funeral ceremonies of Egypt. So according to the ancient Egyptian custom, Hermes the conductor of souls brings the body of Apis up to a certain place, and then delivers it to one who wears the mask of Cerberus. Orpheus instituted this rite among the Greeks, and Homer accordingly set the lines in his poem [1] : "Now Cyllenian Hermes summoned forth the souls of the suitors, and he held a wand in his hands". Then, again, a little further on, he says : "Past the streams of Oceanus they went and the rock Leucas, past the gates of the Sun and the land of Dreams; and straightway they came to the mead of asphodel, where dwell

7 the souls, the phantoms of men outworn". Thus the poet calls the river Oceanus because the Egyptians in their language give that name to the Nile. The gates of the Sun (Helios) are those of the town of Heliopolis; and the meadow, as he names the fabled abode of the departed, is the region beside the Acherusian Lake, as it is called, near Memphis, surrounded by the most beautiful meadows,—marshy ground with lotus and reeds. It is appropriate too that the dead are said to dwell in these parts, because the largest and most numerous tombs in Egypt are situated there : the corpses are ferried across the river and the Acherusian Lake,

8 to be laid in their chambers there. The other details, too, of the Greek legends about Hades are in harmony with the practices which are still kept up in Egypt. For the boat which bears the bodies across is called *baris,* and the fare is paid to the ferryman, who is called in the Egyptian

9 language Charon. Near this region there is also, they say, a temple of Hecate of the Darkness, and the gates of Cocytus and of Lethe, fitted with bars of bronze. There are also other gates called the gates of Truth,

XCVII and near these stands a headless image of Justice. Many other myths, too, survive in Egypt, with their names still preserved and their rites still

2 enacted. For instance, at Acanthopolis beyond the Nile in Libya, fifteen miles from Memphis, there is a perforated cask into which three hundred

3 and sixty priests pour water every day from the Nile. The legend of Ocnus is shown being performed in full at a festival near by, where one man begins the plaiting of a long rope, and many behind him undo what

4 is being plaited. Melampus, they say, took over from Egypt the mysteries

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[1] Homer, *Odyssey,* xxiv, 1-2, 11-14.

regularly performed by the Greeks in honour of Dionysus, the legends concerning Kronos and the battle with the Titans, and in general the story
5 of the sufferings of the gods. Daedalus is said to have imitated the windings of the Egyptian labyrinth which is still standing at the present time, built, as some say, by Mendes, or as others declare, by King Marrus,
6 many years before King Minos. The lines of the ancient Egyptian statues are the same as in those fashioned by Daedalus among the Greeks. The finest gateway to the temple of Hephaestus at Memphis was the creation (they say) of Daedalus the architect : the Egyptians admired him so much that they set up in this temple a statue of him wrought in wood by his own hands. Finally, through his genius he won a great reputation, and after making many additional inventions, he was granted divine honours : on one of the islands near Memphis, in fact, there is even at the present day a temple of Daedalus held in honour by the people.
7 Among many tokens of Homer's sojourn in Egypt they cite in particular the potion given by Helen to Telemachus in the house of Menelaus, causing forgetfulness of the troubles which had befallen him. This is the drug *nepenthes* which the poet [1] says Helen brought from Polydamna, wife of Thon, in Egyptian Thebes, and he has evidently examined it closely; for even now, it is said, the women there use this potent drug, and they say it was found in ancient times among the women of Diospolis
8 alone as remedy for anger and sorrow. Now Thebes and Diospolis are the same. By ancient tradition among the Egyptians Aphrodite has the title of "golden", and around the town of Momemphis [2] is a plain called
9 the plain of golden Aphrodite. Homer (they say) drew from Egyptian sources the legends of the union of Zeus and Hera, and the sojourn of Zeus in Ethiopia. Every year, indeed, the shrine of Zeus is borne by the Egyptians across the Nile into Libya, and after some days it is brought back again, as though the god were returning from Ethiopia. As for the marriage of these deities, at the great festivals the shrines of both are carried up to a hill strewn by the priests with all manner of flowers.
XCVIII Lycurgus, Plato, and Solon incorporated in their own legislation many

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[1] Homer, *Odyssey*, iv, 220 ff. — [2] Momemphis : *supra*, 66. 12.

2 Egyptian institutions. Pythagoras[1] learned in Egypt the details of his theology, his knowledge of geometrical theorems and arithmetic, and also 3 the transmigration of the soul into every animal. The Egyptians believe, too, that Democritus[2] spent five years among them, and was taught much about astronomy. Oenopides[3] likewise, by associating with the priests and astronomers, learned among other things that the sun's orbit has an oblique movement in the opposite direction to the other stars. 4 Similarly, after studying astronomy in Egypt, Eudoxus[4] introduced much 5 useful science into Greece, thereby gaining a notable reputation. The most widely celebrated of ancient sculptors are said to have lived in Egypt —I mean the sons of Rhoecus, Telecles and Theodorus[5], who fashioned 6 for the Samians the statue of Pythian Apollo. The story runs that one half of the image was wrought by Telecles in Samos, while the other was finished by his brother Theodorus at Ephesus; but when the sections were put together, they harmonised so well that the whole statue seemed to have been the consummate work of a single sculptor. Now, this manner of working is never practised by the Greeks, while it is brought to 7 high perfection in Egypt. For the Egyptians do not, like the Greeks, judge the symmetry of their statues by the image before their eyes; but when they have set their blocks in position, divided them out, and begun to hew, from that moment all the proportions are fixed down to the 8 smallest details. They divide the structure of the whole body into twenty-one and a quarter parts, and thus reproduce the complete symmetry of the figure. Hence, when the craftsmen have agreed among themselves about the size of a statue, they go apart from one another, and fashion the proportions of the work in such exact harmony that the 9 unique character of their sculpture fills one with astonishment. Thus

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[1] Pythagoras of Samos lived in the 6th century B.C. For the doctrine of metempsychosis, see Hdt., II, 123.

[2] Democritus of Abdera, *c*, 460-361 B.C., "the laughing philosopher".

[3] Oenopides of Chios : see *supra*, 41. 1.

[4] Eudoxus of Cnidus lived in the 4th century B.C., and probably introduced the sphere into Greece. See Strabo, XVII, p. 806, for his residence during 13 years at Heliopolis.

[5] See Pausanias, VIII, 14, p. 929; X, 38, p. 896, for Telecles and his son Theodorus.

the statue at Samos was executed in accordance with Egyptian craftsmanship : it was divided into two parts from the crown of the head to the genitals, and these sections are exactly equal to one another in every respect. They also add that this image of Apollo with arms outstretched and legs apart shows resemblance in most respects to Egyptian statues.

10 This, then, is a sufficient account of the history of Egypt and its notable features; and now according to the plan set forth at the beginning of the book, I shall proceed to relate the next series of events and legends, beginning with the history of the Assyrians in Asia.

ERRATA IN PART I.

(*Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts :* Vol. I, Part I).

P. 2, 1. 2 (writters) writers; p. 2 note (Hisorical) Historical, (atracted) attracted; p. 3, 1. 7 (He) His, 1. 8 (charascteristic) characteristic, 1. 16 (survived) survives; p. 5, 1. 22 (action) actions; p. 7, 1. 2 from foot (composition) compositions; p. 11, 1. 9 from foot (acount) account; p. 13, 1. 1 (autochtonous) autochthonous, 1. 10 (then) than, 1. 16 (achievemnets) achievements; p. 14, 1. 2 (produces) nowhere produces; p. 16, notes-transpose, i.e. "(1) *Iliad,* XIV, 201 and 302. (2) *Odyssey,* XVII, 485-7"; p. 18, 1. 3 (Heraoplis) Herapolis; p. 19, 1. 15 (implicity) implicitly; p. 20 note, last line (Greeck) Greek; p. 27, 1. 15 (Egyptians nations,) Egyptians, nations (delete comma after nations), 1. 19 (gives) give; p. 30, last line (Erechteus) Erechtheus; p. 33, 1. 6 from foot (ours) our; p. 34, 1. 11 from foot (somwhat) somewhat; p. 35, 1. 7 (ablong) oblong; p. 36, 1. 10 (successfullly) successfully; p. 39 middle (after wards) afterwards; p. 42 note 2 (estesian) etesian.

NOTES ON "THE BOOK OF PLANTS"[1]

PART I.

BY A. J. ARBERRY.

In the first number of the *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts* of the Egyptian University, we published the text of Book I of Ishak ibn Hunayn's translation of the Book of Plants ascribed to Aristotle, and in an appendix to the text we illustrated the variations which occur between the Arabic version and the mediaeval Greek rendering. As we pointed out in the foreword to that article, the earlier Latin version of the Arabic was not then accessible to us : and our intention at that time was to publish in this issue of the Bulletin the Arabic text of the second book. Since then, however, the Latin version has come into our hands; and therefore it seems more convenient now to clear up the many points raised by this fresh source of information. In the following notes, the foliation is that of the Istanbul MS.

f. 99 *b*

inquisitionem — بحث واستقصاء

Evidently the Latin translator decided that the Arabic was tautological, and therefore expressed it in a single word.

(constaret enim) — ليت شعرى

These words are omitted in the Basle MS, and indeed they make nonsense as they stand : nevertheless, the Greek version does not hesitate to give συνίσταται, but the change of tense is a courageous attempt to make sense. I conjecture that the true reading is *constare desiderem,*

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[1] V. *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts,* vol. I, Part I, pp. 48-76. "An Early Arabic Translation from the Greek".

which is used a little later to express the identical words. Palaeographically the change is not very considerable.

Abrucalis همفدوقليس

Meyer was quite correct in reading Empedocles into this strange form.

flexum foliorum انتثار ورقه فى حينه

This is Meyer's emendation of the MSS *fluxum foliorum* : and he produces such a convincing array of authorities in support, that it is a pity that the Arabic quite clearly demonstrates that he is wrong, and the MSS right. He finds it difficult to understand how the falling of the leaves of a tree can be regarded as a sign of desire : but the text states quite clearly that Anaxagoras adduced this phenomenon as a proof that plants are animals, and that they experience joy and grief. The words فى حينه, which do not appear in the Latin, make the meaning of the philosopher a little clearer : the shedding of leaves in due season may be interpreted as a sign that the trees are going into mourning for the death of the summer.

Quod si constet, gaudere quoque et tristari, sentireque eas, consequens erit. Id quoque constare desiderem, an somno reficiantur excitenturque vigiliis, spiritum quoque et sexum per mixtionem sexuum habeant, vel contra. Multa autem circa haec ambiguitas longam facit inquisitionem. Haec siquidem praetermittere, nec dispendiosis circa singula perscrutationibus memorari opportunum.

The Arabic and Greek texts of this passage appear on p. 62 of No. 1 of the *Bulletin*, f. 99 *b* 4. *Quod si constet* is a little elliptical for وان صح للنبات قوة الشهوة, but it is a quite comprehensible abbreviation. The reading of one MS (G II), *erat* for *erit*, is perhaps an imitation of the tense of وجبت. The phrase فليت شعرى seems to have presented some difficulties, judging by the confusion of the MSS at this point, a confusion which has passed over into the Greek incurably. The Basle MS reads *id quoque constare desidera;* G I reads *id quod quia constare desiderem;* G II reads *ideo quoque constare desiderii etiam.* Out of these readings Meyer has established what is undoubtedly a correct text. The occur-

rence of *constet,* which apparently represents صح, so near *constare desiderem,* which as we saw above is quite comprehensible for ليت شعرى, causes one to wonder whether the confusion is not more deep-seated even than appears on the surface. Is it not possible that some form of the word *desiderium,* representing قوة الشهوة, has dropped out through proximity to *desiderem,* and that *quod si constet* has crept into the gap, easily supplied from *constaret enim* above, and *constare* below? There is a lacuna in the Basle MS until the word *tristari.* I conjecture that we should read, for *quod si constet, desiderii autem.*

The next words, *an somno reficiantur excitenturque vigiliis,* are a somewhat ambitious expansion of the simple Arabic.

The remainder of the passage presents a whole series of difficulties. The Basle MS reads *speciemque et sexuum per mixtionem sexuumque habeant vel non.* Evidently the translator did not understand the emphasis thrown on نفس النبات in the Arabic, for he renders it *haec,* and misplaces the نفس a little before. The remaining words are simply a mistranslation of the Arabic as it stands, so much so that they give a contrary and entirely inappropriate meaning : for in fact the writer does proceed to discuss at length all the problems connected with this major question, whether plants have souls.

f. 100 *a*

dicit Plato فنقول

Meyer's conjecture here (for the MSS read *dico ergo*), although defended by a weight of learning, is a little too audacious.

hujus igitur mirabilis erat intentio, qui eas sentire et desiderare opinabatur.

The Arabic and Greek texts of this passage are given on p. 62 of No. 1 of the *Bulletin,* f. 100 *a* 1. It will be observed that the superfluous words *οὐ μὴν φαῦλος* do not appear in the Latin in any existing MS. *πλατᾶται* is evidently due to a misreading of *errat* for *erat.*

et Democritus et Empedocles وهمفدوقليس وديمقراطيس

The Latin order is the same as the Greek. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the history of philosophy, the Arabic order is better, and therefore I propose to retain it.

et nostrae voluntatis finis ومنتهى ارادتها

So all the MSS without variation, and the Greek is in accord. Although the pronoun ها can be taken as referring to الشهوة, it makes easier and more sensible reading if we emend to ارادتنا : human desire reverts eventually to sense-impressions.

nec similitudinem ejus (Gk : οὔτε ὁμοιότητα αὐτοῦ) ولا متالها

This is a pure mistranslation, or may be due to a reading مثلها .

nec consecutionem rerum ولا ادراك شيء

The Greek, which is given in No. 1 p. 63 f. 100 *a* 4, is a misunderstanding of the somewhat ambiguous Latin.

nec viam ad aliquid sensatum ولا نهوضا الى المحسوس

Meyer here adopts the text of the later Latin translation (to which reference is made in my former article), which is simply a translation of the Greek version of the earlier Latin. It is important to examine the MS authority on this point. The Basle MS reads *nec iterum aliquid sensatum,* G I has *nec unquam ad*... G II has *nec nec ad*... All these readings make nonsense. In the useful book of Albertus Magnus *De Vegetabilibus,* which contains a paraphrase of the present treatise, we find these words at this point : *nec vim ac virtutem, per quam cognoscimus, aliquid hujusmodi plantis inesse.* The verb نهض, when followed by the preposition الى, means 'to rush upon', especially of an army or an individual rushing against an enemy. The '*vim ac virtutem*' express this idea admirably. I propose tentatively to emend the Latin text to : *nec vim iterque ad aliquid sensatum,* which contains all the force of the Arabic, but is sufficiently difficult Latin for a copyist, ignorant of the Arabic, to emend as he chose.

nec signum, per quod judicemus, illas sensum habere, sicut signa, per quae scimus, eas nutriri et crescere.

ولا دليلا يوجب له الحس كالدلائل التى اوجبت له الاغتذاء والنماء

Meyer says (p. 50) 'locus certe corruptus. Dicendum erat : *sicut nutritio atque incrementum signa sunt, per quae scimus, eas habere animam.* Sic enim auctorem argumentatum esse, proxime sequentia docent'. He is quite right in looking for this meaning in the passage : but he is mistaken in supposing the text to be corrupt, for *sicut signa* is an exact rendering of كالدلائل, and the Latin, when closely compared with the Arabic, will be seen to be quite a faithful though slightly expanded version, and does in fact convey the idea for which Meyer seeks.

nec constat hoc nobis, nisi quia nutrimentum et augmentum partes sunt animae.

وانما يصح له بجزء الاغتذاء والنماء جزء من اجزاء النفس

If the Arabic text is sound, it appears to have been misunderstood by the Latin translator. Its meaning seems to be : 'only inasfar as feeding and growing are considered a part of the soul, can plants be reckoned to possess souls'.

cumque plantam talem invenimus, aliquam partem animae illi inesse necessario intelligimus; sensuque carentem sensatum esse, contendere non oportet, quia sensus est causa illustrationis vitae, nutrimentum vero causa est augmenti rei vivae.

فان وجدنا للنبات دليلا اوجب له جزءا من اجزاء النفس وبطل عنه الحس فما ينبغي لنا ان نقول إن له حسا لان الحس هو سبب صفاء الجبلة واما الغذاء فهو نمو حياة الحى وعيشته لان الغذاء رئيس العيش فاما الحس فهو رئيس صفاء الحياة

The Basle MS has *aliquamque* for *aliquam*, and *sensu quod careat tunc* for *sensuque carentem.* This reconstructs a text which is closer to the Arabic : *cumque plantam talem invenimus, aliquamque partem animae illi inesse necessario intelligimus, sensu quod caret tamen sensatum esse contendere non oportet,* etc. We shall also emend the Arabic thus : لان الحس هو سبب صفاء الحياة واما الغذاء فهو سبب نمو حياة الحى .

The remaining words in the Arabic appear to be a gloss on this phrase, for they are not represented in any of the MSS. of the Latin version : I therefore propose that they should be struck out.

namque difficile est, vitae plantarum regimen assignare praeter regimen vitae altricis	وقد يصعب علينا ان يوجد للنبات رئيس سوى رئيس حياة الحيوان

This sentence is missing in the Basle MS. G II reads *namque difficile est plantis* . . ., and this reading is supported by the Greek : καὶ γὰρ δυσνόητόν ἐστι τὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ φυτοῦ ἀποδιδόναι τῇ διοικήσει τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ζῴου. As it also has the support of the Arabic, there seems little doubt that it represents the correct tradition. For the rest, the Greek translator seems to have misunderstood the Latin before him. For *altricis, animalis* appears required.

f. 100 *b*

qui autem plantas vivere negant, est, quod non sentiunt; quamquam sunt quaedam animalia sapientia et intellectu carentia. Natura tamen, animalis vitam in morte corrumpens, ipsam in genere suo conservat; estque inconveniens, ut inter animatum et inanimatum medium ponamus.	فاما الذى يدفع ان يكون حيا لا حس له فقد نجد فى الحيوان ما لا معرفة له ولا عقل على ان الطبيعة مقللة بحياة الحيوان بالموت ومثبتة لأجناسه بالتولد والتناسل ومع هذا فانه يسمح ان نضع بين ما لا نفس وبين ما له نفس شيئا بتوسطها

It is to be noted that *quamquam sunt* is Meyer's conjecture, based on the Greek and later Latin versions. The MSS. at this point read : *quia sunt* (Bas, G I) *quod sicut* (G II). It is clear that the trouble began, when the superfluous *est* crept into the text : omit it, and we have an exact version of the Arabic. For *quamquam sunt,* or whatever corruption of the MSS, we can by conjecture from the Arabic read *invenimus.* It is evident that we should add, after *in genere suo, generatione,* to represent بالتولد والتناسل, and to balance *in morte.* The Greek has διὰ γενέσεως, which gives the meaning exactly.

Inconveniens, which only has the authority of G I (but which is nevertheless followed in the Greek with ἀσύμφωνον), is clearly wrong for يسمح : moreover, it is exactly the opposite meaning that the context demands, for the author immediately proceeds to give an example of a creature

which is half-animal and half-plant, that is, midway between the animate and the inanimate. What do the other MSS say? The Basle MS reads *estque communis ut inter;* G II has *est quia inquiens inter.* The corruption evidently arises from a confusion between the abbreviation used for the prefix *con-* and that used for the prefix *in-*. G I has simply reduplicated. Clearly we must read : *estque conveniens.*

conchylia خراطيم الماء والأصداف

A generalisation, perhaps to cover the translator's ignorance of the meanings of the Arabic particularisations.

ex una causa esse in multis من أجل سبب واحد

Bas omits *in multis,* and following the Arabic, we reject them.

suis individuis (Gk : *τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀτόμοις*) انواعها

We must evidently emend the Arabic to افرادها.

quae ex arboribus crescunt ما ينمو

The Basle MS omits *ex arboribus.* The paraphrase of Albertus Magnus gives : *quae crescunt in terra plantata ad modum plantarum.* The Greek is given in *Bull.,* I, p. 64 f. 100 *b* 7, and this is followed in the later Latin version. Evidently the Arabic gave some trouble to the translator or his copyists to understand (as well it might), and they did their best to fill it out with explanatory glosses. It is obvious that there is something missing in the Arabic : but whether this is due to faulty MS tradition, or to some misunderstanding on the part of the Arab translators, or to a faulty tradition in the original Greek, all this is more than it is possible now to say.

quid ergo est principium vitae animalis? Quidve animal nobile, ut quod circuit solem et stellas planetas, ab intricata extrahet ambiguitate? Impassibilia enim sunt, sensus vero sentientis passio.

The Arabic of this passage is given in *Bull.,* I, p. 64 f. 100 *b* 8, together with the Greek version.

Let us first examine the variants. G II reads *quicquid* for *quid.* For *vitae animalis,* G I has *vite in animalibus,* G II *in vita animalis,* which is the

reading followed by the Greek translator. For *nobile* G II has *mobile,* probably a mere slip. G II slips again in reading *stellat* for *stellas.* The later Latin version has *solem, stellas et planetas,* which is a translation of the Greek version. G II has *extrahet ex hac* for *ab intricata extrahet.* For *vero,* G I has *enim,* G II *enim est,* the latter omitting *sentientis.*

It is evident that the Latin translator misread his original here, and omitted the words beginning وغير ذلك and ending جميع الكواكب. But our troubles by no means end there. There is surely some point in that هذا at the beginning of this passage : perhaps it refers to the kind of plant described by the word ينمو and whatever followed it in the original. If the Arab translator had not been so anxious to display his virtuosity in making the rhyme الكريم and العظيم, perhaps this part of the passage would have been a little clearer. The corruption is perhaps beyond repair. Tentatively, I would suggest emending the Arabic thus : ومنه ما ينمو فجاءة ما الخ. This ما is not, however, interrogative, as the Latin translator supposed, but negative. By فجاءة is implied the idea of spontaneous generation, which would be appropriate in this context : cf. the passage from Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* quoted by Meyer on p. 51. The author is contrasting animals with the stars : the latter, although possessing motion (which some animals, and also plants, do not possess), are nevertheless insensative to pain or feeling, and cannot therefore be held to possess animate life.

For يجد I would read يحد, which is supported by *circuit* in the Latin version, and *περιοδεύει* in the Greek, but in the sense of 'defining'. The beginnings of life in animals are characterised by the faculty of *sense,* in the stars by the phenomenon of *motion.* If there is any sense in the words ساس شىء عليه, I fear that it escapes me : the meaning of this part of the passage is however clear — (*a*) in order to experience sensation, the sensative must have something outside himself to provoke these sensations; (*b*) the sun, stars etc. are not impinged upon by any exterior entity; (*c*) therefore, they do not experience sensation.

unde ergo syllogizabimus, ei vitam ut faciamus, aliquid verisimile? Non enim continet illas res una communis.

The Arabic and Greek of this passage are given on p. 64 of *Bull.*, I, no. 9. For *aliquid*, Bas and G I read *illud*: for *enim*, G I and G II read *autem*. There seems little doubt that some corruption of the first order has here crept into the text, if *syllogizabimus* is on good authority. The whole process of reasoning here is so complicated, and based on such strange 'scientific' ideas, that it appears hopeless to make any conjecture adequate to clear up our difficulties. Perhaps we may make an attempt to translate the Arabic as it stands : "Wherein does the essence of life consist? And wherein does it (? the plant, or the earth, if the latter, then تشبها) resemble life? We do not find any common factor between the earth (and life)." The *αἰσθητικά* in the Greek seems to appear from nowhere.

vitae animalis commune est sensus

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 64 no. 10. G I omits *animalis*, as does our Arabic text. Bas reads : *quod intentio est sensus*, and perhaps this accounts for the *αἰτία* in the Greek.

f. 101 *a*

nec oportet, ut quisquam recedat ab his nominibus, quia non est medium inter animatum et inanimatum, nec inter vitam et ejus privationem; sed inter inanimatum et vitam est medium

Vid. *ibid.*, f. 101 *a* 1. The Latin translator evidently had الاسماء for الاشياء : the latter is however preferable in the context.

Bas reads : *sed inter animatum et vitam*. This accords with the Arabic, and is preferable. The Greek translator at this point has a thoroughly corrupt text before him, apparently somewhat like this : *et hoc est inventio vitae. Ejus privatione igitur oportet, ut quisquam recedat ab his nominibus, quia non est medium. Sed vita est medium.*

et non dico tamen　　　　او لا نقول

The Latin translator reads ولا, and this seems better.

si habuerit animam et aliquem sensum (quod est), quia res, quae cibatur, non est sine anima, et omne animal habet animam.	ان كان ذا نفس والحيوان هو ذو نفس كاملة

Evidently the copyist of our Arabic text fell a victim to the homoeoteleuton ذا نفس ..... غير نفس (the latter نفس contained in the Latin *non sine anima*). We shall therefore expand the text thus :

ان كان ذا نفس (وحس ما لأن المغتذى ما يكون بغير نفس) والحيوان الخ

The Latin translator, however, in overlooking كاملة, threw the process of thought out of gear. We must emend the Latin thus : *non est sine anima. Et* (*omne*) *animal habet animam perfectam, sed planta est res imperfecta.*

indeterminata	فغير محدود للطبيعة

The word الطبيعة seems to have no other function but that of making a balance with الاعضاء : nothing is lost if it is omitted, but also nothing is gained. Owing to the proximity of طبيعة, which may have caused the copyist of Alfredus' Arabic text to omit الطبيعة, I prefer to retain it.

quia anima est, quod facit motus nasci in locis et desideria; et motus in locis non erunt nisi cum sensu.	لأن النفس هى المنشئة للحركات من الاماكن والشهوات والشهوة والحركة فى الاماكن انما تكون مع الحس

It is interesting to compare the Greek : *ὅτι ψυχή ἐστιν ἡ ποιοῦσα ἐν αὐτοῖς γεννᾶσθαι τὰς κινήσεις. ἐπιθυμία δὲ καὶ κίνησις ἡ ἐν τόποις κτλ.* From this it is clear that we must add *et desiderium* before *et motus*, and *ἐν τόποις, καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας* after *τὰς κινήσεις*. We shall also twice read فى الاماكن.

et proprie eget animal (Gk : *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖται*)	ولذلك احتاج الحيوان

The MSS read : *proprie* G I *prius* Bas *ideo* G II. From these variants, and by comparison with the Arabic and the Greek, we may emend *proprie* to *propterea.*

quia frigiditas inventa est in cibo sicco — لأن الحر والبرد موجودان فى الغذاء الرطب

The Arabic text is as I had emended it, basing my conjecture on the reading of the Greek text (*Bull.,* I, p. 65 no. 8). As, however, the reading of the Latin depends on a unanimous tradition (with however the exception of Bas, which omits the phrase altogether), and as it confirms the reading of the Arabic MS, it is better to emend our text to : لأن البرد موجود فى الغذاء الرطب.

et debent uti animal et planta tali, quale est illud — وينبغى ان يستعمل فى النبات نظير ذلك

The Latin in evidently slightly expanded for the sake of clearness : the Greek misunderstands the Latin (vid. *Bull.,* I, p. 65 no. 9).

f. 101 *b*

perscrutemur autem — وان يفحص

The Latin translator breaks up the sentence, which threatens to become rather complicated. It is clear that we should emend يفحص to نفحص.

et quod resolvitur ab ea. Et non habet planta spiritum — وما يتحلل منه وليس للنبات نسيم

This is an exact rendering of the Arabic. The Greek, which is here inaccurate (vid. *Bull.,* I, p. 65 no. 2), seems to be derived from the reading of G II : *et quod resolvitur ab ea anima plantae.*

et in quibusdam animalibus est hic vapor multus, quae tum parum dormiunt.

For the Arabic and Greek texts of this passage, vid. *loc. cit.,* no. 3. It is important to note the variations in the MSS here. Bas reads *quae tamen,* G II *quaedam tamen.* It is clear that the translator misread his

text (or had a defective text before him) owing to the homoeoteleuton ووقت نومه ..... ووقت نومه . If there is much rising of vapour, then we should expect the resulting sleep to be long : but the Latin, as it stands, states the exact contrary, albeit two of the MSS attempt to redeem the situation by reading the adversative *tamen* for the consequential *tum*.

et quod contingit maxime et proprie inquirendum in hac scientia	واخصّ الاشياء كلها بهذا العلم البحث

This is Meyer's text, although he has before him the reading of Bas *et quod maxime et proprie est inquirendum* etc., and that of G II *et quod magis et proprie est inquirendum* etc; the former reading being supported by the Greek : *ὃ δὲ μάλιστα καὶ κυρίως ἐστὶ ζητητέον.* We must obviously follow the tradition of Bas.

sed dicimus quod (Gk : *λέγομεν τοίνυν ὅτι*) على ما زعم لأنّ

Meyer bases his text on the Greek and Late Latin versions : Bas G II read *sicut diximus, quia;* G I *sicut diximus, quod.* The reference is to an earlier passage in the book :

واما همفدوقليس فزعم ان ذكوره واناثه مختلطة

From this it is clear that the Arabic text is correct, and we must emend the Latin thus : *sicut dixit, quia.*

masculus quando generat, in alio generat, et femina quando generat, ab alio generat, et sunt ambo separati ab invicem

The Arabic and Greek texts are to be found in *Bull.*, I, p. 65 no. 4. The *εἰς ἄλλο* in the Greek is evidently derived from the reading of Bas G II *in aliud.* We must emend the Arabic thus :

وان يكون كل واحد منهما معتزلا عن صاحبه

et illud non invenitur in plantis

Vid. *Bull.*, I, *loc. cit.*, no. 5. G II reads *et illud nominetur,* and this is evidently the basis of the Greek text.

quia quaelibet species plantae masculinae, quod erit ex ea, erit asperius durius rigidius, et femina erit debilis et fructifera.	لأنّ كل نوع من النبات الذكر منه ما كان خشن صلب والأنثى كثيرة الثمر

G II reads *masculus* for *masculinae, quae erit ea* for *quod erit ex ea,* and *fructuosa* for *fructifera.* The Arabic of this passage is certainly not very prepossessing, although the meaning must quite clearly be «because in every species of plant, the masculine is rough and hard, while the feminine is fruitful». Such an interpretation can be wrested from the Arabic, but the Latin does not so lend itself, except that G II makes a brave attempt to give sense, but unfortunately mixes his genders.

The Greek version has this meaning quite accurately, but at the cost of having made the blunder reported above in the last note. Are we to look for the source of the trouble in the words *asperius durius rigidius?* These neuter comparatives have no support in the Arabic, which has the simple forms خشن صلب, and they do not correspond with the simple feminine adjectives *debilis et fructifera* (which, incidentally, are changed in the Greek so as to fall into line : *ἀσθενέστερον καὶ καρποφόρον πλέον*). If we read *asper durus rigidus,* we get an exact translation of the Arabic (except that some word equivalent to *rigidus* appears to have fallen out), and we can then read the whole passage thus : *quia quaelibet species plantae, masculus quod erit ex ea, erit asper durus rigidus, et femina erit debilis et fructifera.* In the Arabic we should probably supply صلد after صلب to represent *solidum,* and ضعيفة for *debilis.*

sed ego non opinor, quod hoc ita sit — أما أنا فما أحسب ان هذا شيء يكون

Bas reads *quod haec res ita sit,* while G II has *haec tres ita sint.* The Greek text supports Bas, and it is quite clear that this is what Alfredus wrote : it is, however, a misrepresentation of the Arabic, which means "but as for myself, I do not think that this is possible".

inventa ergo fuit planta ante suam commixtionem

Vid. *Bull.,* I, p. 66 no. 8. The Greek is due to some expansion of the quite accurate Latin text.

et oportet, ut sit (Gk : *ἢ καὶ ὀφείλει εἶναι*) وما ينبغى ان يكون

The writer of the treatise declares that he is of the opinion that Empedocles is mistaken is supposing that plants can be masculine and feminine at the same time. "Take any compound", he says, "and you will

find that its simple substances, before being compounded, must have existed separately first. So it is with plants. First the male and the female exist separately, then a mingling of the sexes takes place, and so a new plant is generated. The old plant was existent before the mingling took place, and therefore it could not be the efficient and the patient at one and the same time, nor could it be one of those substances whose male and female exist in a single thing together, for in this case the plant would be more perfect than the animal". This is his process of reasoning, which Alfredus failed to grasp.

f. 102 *a*

et temperantia naturali

Vid. *Bull.*, I, *loc. cit.*, no. 1. Meyer adopts the reading of Bas : G I omits *naturali*, G II has in its place *et vere*. From the latter fact Meyer deduces that Bekker 'mistakenly' (perperam) read *καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος* for *καὶ τοῦ ἔαρος*. What is much more certain, however, is that the Greek translator had before him a Latin text which read *et temperantia et aere*. The Arabic suggests that we should follow G I and strike out *naturali*.

quod earum frigus est (vel semina sunt) ab aere

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 2. Meyer is quite right in conjecturing that the word required here is *semina* (or rather *semen*) : the mistake, however, arose through the confusion of برد not with بذر, as he suggests, but with بزر, which is the actual reading of the Arabic text.

et ideo dicit lechineon (Gk : *ἔφη πρὸς Λεχίνεον*) ولذلك قال رجل يقال له القناون

This passage has indeed exercised the ingenuity of scholars, as Meyer remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 57-8). The MSS read : *lechineon* G I, *lecinio* Bas, *lethineo* G II. Albertus Magnus reads *Leucineom*, and Jourdain (from his Paris MSS) *Lachineo;* while the later Latin version, following the Greek, reads *ad Lechineum*. Albertus conjectured that the name hidden in this confusion is Lycophro, Jourdain hasarded Leucippus. Meyer, taking the bold path of conjecturing from the unknown (to him) Arabic,

abandons all hope of finding a proper name here, and, referring rather vaguely to the roots عون and لقن, produces *ideoque dicunt sapientes, illum* (Anaxagoram) *adjuvantes.* The Arabic suggests that the true solution is the name Alcinous, the epitomiser of Plato, whose works, with those of Maximus Tyrius, were published by Heinse.

debemus imaginari — قلنا إن تخيّله

We must emend قلنا to فلنا

in uno ovo (Gk : ἐν τοῖς ᾠοῖς) — فى البيضة

Meyer follows the text of G I and Albertus; the Arabic points to the fact that the other tradition, which omits *uno,* is the correct one.

arbores altae pullos (non) generant — الشجر الطوال لا تولد فراخا

Meyer wishes to exclude *non,* quoting as his authority the line of Empedocles : οὕτω δ᾽ ᾠοτοκεῖ μακρὰ δένδρεα, πρῶτον ἐλαίας.

"Utrum vero interpres Arabs pro οὕτω legerit οὔτοι, an Latinus pro particula inseparabili لَ, *sane, utique,* legerit لا, *non,* in suspenso manebit." It need remain in suspense no longer : it is clear from the evidence that the Arab interpreter had before him a version of the line which read οὔπω (rather than οὔτοι) for οὕτω.

quia res, quae nascitur, non nascitur nisi ex parte seminis — لأن الشىء النابت انما ينبت فى حر البزر

G II reads *ex natura,* and this reading is followed in the Greek (vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 66 no. 4). We must clearly emend the Arabic thus : فى جزء البزر.

et nascens movet se statim

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 5. The preceding phrase is : *et fit, quod remanet ex eo, in principio cibus radicis.* For *radicis,* G I has *cibi :* this is nonsense as it stands, but perhaps it is the clue to the passage in the Arabic which is placed between daggers; possibly it is the survival of an attempt to render السبب, in the sense of 'means of subsistence'. The rest of the passage will then read : والنابتة تحرّك على المكان.

ergo sic debemus opinari in mixtione masculorum et feminarum plantarum, sicut et animalium. Quae est causa plantarum in dispositione quadam . . .

وكذلك ينبغى لنا ان نفكر فى اختلاط ذكور النبـات بأناثه ومن الحيوان ما يشبه النبات فى حالة من الحالات

It is evident that here Alfredus had before him a text quite different from that which we possess : but that ours is correct text, is shown by what follows.

quia in animali, quando commiscentur sexus (commiscentur vires sexuum), postquam erant separati, provenit ex illis ambabus res una; et ita non est in plantis, quando commiscentur sexus, commiscentur vires sexuum, (postquam erant separati).

لأن الحيوان اذا واقع ذكوره بأناثه اختلطت قوتهما بعد ما كانا متفرقين

Such is Meyer's text, the words in brackets being those which he desires to omit, in order to restore sense to a sadly disturbed passage. It is to be noted that the words from *postquam* (first time) to the end are only to be found in G II, and also in the Greek version. The trouble really begins in the preceding passage. The train of thought is as follows : 'The mingling of the male with the female plant is after the manner we have described, sc. it is similar to the impregnation of an egg. Now, in a certain respect, the animal resembles the plant : for during the *coitus* of the male and female, the virtue (or potentiality) of the two is mingled, after they had been separate; in the same way, it is nature that mixes the male of the plant with the female (for we have seen above that, before the generation of a new plant, or of fruit, as follows, the male and the female must exist separately)'. If we omit the words that follow *erant separati* (first time), we shall have an exact version of the Arabic. Incidentally, we must read واقع ذكورَه أناثَه .

et non invenimus aliquam operationem in plantis nisi generationem fructuum

وما نجد النبات فعلا سوى توليد الثمار

We must read للنبات.

propter multa opera ejus et multas scientias ejus لكثرة أفعاله

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 66 no. 9. Evidently we should add وعلومه after افعاله.

f. 102 *b*

non habet nisi partem partis animae انما له جزء من اجزائها

Alfredus appears to have read جزء من جزئها

et si dixerit aliquis (Gk : καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν εἴπῃ τις) وان قلت

Bas reads *et aliquis dixeris*, G II *et si dixeris.* It is clear that we must adopt the latter reading.

indiget eo multum stabili continuo non interrupto فانه يحتاج منه الى شىء كثير قائم غير متّصل غير منقطع

For the Greek, vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 67 no. 1. We must emend the text of the Arabic thus : قائم متّصل غير منقطع

meliores et nobiliores أكرم

Bas omits *meliores et,* and the Arabic proves that this is the correct tradition.

et videmus opus animalis nobilius esse et melius quam opus plantae وفعل من أفعال الحيوان أفضل وأشرف من النبات

Such is Meyer's text, based on the reading of Bas : *videmus* is written by the second hand over *unum,* the original reading; and *esse* is supplied by Meyer *ex conjectura.* The other MSS have : *et unum opus animalis nobilius est et melius quam opus plantae* G I *et opus unum animalis* (*est omne opus*) *nobilius est et melius quam omne opus plantae* G II. The Greek version runs :

ἀλλὰ ἔργον ἓν τοῦ ζώου ἐσὶὶ κρεῖττον παρὰ πᾶν ἔργον τοῦ φυτοῦ.

From this evidence it is clear that the correct Latin version is that

preserved in G I : while our Arabic text must be emended by adding فعل before النبات .

generabatur animal

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 4. Karsten proposed to emend οὐ to αὖ (*ad Empedoclem* p. 422), and there is no doubt at all that his correction must be adopted : il is incorporated in Apelt's text.

infirmabitur et veterascet et corrumpetur et arefiet — مرض وفسد وجف

The Greek is : ἀσθενοῦσι τὰ φυτὰ καὶ γηράσκουσι καὶ φθίνουσι καὶ ξηραίνονται. Some word corresponding to *veterascet* (γηράσκουσι) has dropped out of the Arabic text, probably هرم .

quaedam arbores habent gummi

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 6. The Greek is a mistranslation of the accurate Latin.

nodos . . . et venas et ventrem

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 7. Some word corresponding to *ventrem* (κοιλίαν) has fallen out in the Arabic, probably حشا, owing to its similarly to خشب, possibly, as Meyer suggests, معدّ .

scilicet inter corticem et lignum

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 8. These words, for which no equivalent exists in the Arabic, probably represent a gloss on the preceding phrase, such as : يعنى بين القشر والخشب

f. 103 *a*

et similia (Gk : καὶ φύλλα) — وغير ذلك

For *similia*, G I reads *folia*, and this is the reading of the Greek translator.

quaedam habent has partes, quaedam illas, quaedam non — منه ما له هذه الأجزاء ومنه ما ليس له شىء

The words *quaedam illas* are only found in Bas : as they do not occur in the Arabic, we must omit them.

ut radices, virgas, folia, ramos, flores, pullulationes, rotunditatem, et corticem, qui circumdat fructum

The Arabic and Greek versions are given in *Bull.*, I, p. 67 f. 103 *a* no. 2. It will be observed that the Latin is an exact rendering of the Arabic. The word λύγους appears to have been due to a misreading of *vitices* for *radices*. Meyer assigns the word βλασ7ούς against *rotunditatem*, but it is clear that it represents *pullulationes*, and that there is no equivalent in the Greek for *rotunditatem*.

et quaelibet partium plantae compositae sunt membris aliis	وكل جزء من أجزاء النبات نظير لعضو من أعضاء الحيوان

The Greek is : *καὶ ἕκασ7α τῶν μερῶν τοῦ Φυτοῦ σύνθετα εἰσὶν ὅμοια μέλεσι ζῴου.* The word *compositae* (σύνθετα) is superfluous : and, as far as conjecture can be certain, it is certain that it is due to a misreading of نظيم for نظير. Both these words are expressed in the Greek : presumably, therefore, the Greek translator had before him a Latin version in which both *similes* (نظير) and *compositae* (نظيم) were noted, possibly as variants. The word *aliis* is evidently a corruption for *animalis*, as the Greek ζῴου shows. We must therefore read : *et quaelibet partium plantae similes sunt membris animalis.*

quia cortex plantae similis est cuti animalis, et radix plantae similis est ori animalis	لأن قشر النبات نظير لجلد الحيوان واصل النبات نظير للحم الحيوان

The Greek is : *ὁ δὲ Φλοιὸς τοῦ Φυτοῦ ὅμοιος ἐσ7ι Φυσικῶς δέρματι ζῴου.* It is obvious that the Greek translator (or his text) was a victim to the homoeoteleuton *similis est . . . similis est.* It is to be noted that G II adds *naturaliter* after the second *animalis*, and this explains the superfluous *Φυσικῶς.* Apelt reads in his text δέρματι, which he attributes to Sylburg, noting that the reading of *Na*, the best MS of the Greek text, is σ7όματι, which of course represents *ori*. Now Bas, in many respects

the best of the Latin MSS., reads *cum cute* for *cuti*, and then goes on : *animalis et radix carte similis est ori animalis*. The reading *carte* is quite properly pilloried by Meyer, who notes it thus : *carte* (*sic!*). Nevertheless, it is, ironically enough, the only vestige of the true reading, *carni* for *ori*. And yet, how appropriate that *ori* is! The comparison of the roots of a plant with the mouth of an animal is a familiar idea in Aristotle, as Meyer demonstrates on page 65 of his edition. But unless we are prepared to emend للحم to لفم, we are left with the inept comparison of the roots with the flesh, which Sylburg preferred.

et quaelibet harum partium dividuntur aliquo modo per partes consimiles, et dividitur etiam per partes dissimiles, quasi lutum uno modo per terram tantum, et alio modo per aquam; pulmo quoque et caro dividuntur, et sunt partes earum carnes, et alio modo dividuntur per elementa seu radices.

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 68 nos. 5, 6. Of the variants on the Latin text, the most important to be noted is that of Bas, *dividitur* for *dividuntur*, on at least two occasions (for Meyer is not very clear on this point). The first *dividuntur* must be altered to *dividitur*, for *quaelibet* is singular feminine, corresponding with كل جزء, and also apposite to *et dividitur etiam*. We must in the same way read يتجزأ twice (for تتجزأ), and retain the remainder of this part of the passage as I have printed it in the text (*Bull.*, I, p. 54-55), and not as in the Appendix (*ibid.*, p. 68), which gives the MS reading. *Quasi* is Meyer's conjecture : *quia* is the reading of Bas G I, G II, Albertus writes *sicut*, and the later Latin version has *veluti scilicet*. The Greek, which is a little periphrastic, supports the MS reading (note the γὰρ). *Quia* is quite obviously correct (لأن), but there is a case for *quasi*, not (as Meyer argues) because its letters are similar to those of *quia*, but because it can be taken to represent a variant كأن for لأن.

What of *pulmo quoque et caro* (ὡσαύτως ὁ πνεύμων καὶ ἡ σάρξ)? By comparing the Arabic, it is clear that *pulmo* is due to a misunderstanding of الترْبة : التريبة means 'the upper part of the chest', and this is the word which is in Alfredus' mind. Alas for the consequences : يتجزأ becomes

تجزأ (twice), and يصير becomes تصير, and all is comparatively well : but what of أجزاؤه and هو? And what of the broken meaning? The idea of the writer is, that any compound can be divided in two ways : into similar particles of its own *compound* substance, and into dissimilar particles of its simple elements. Mud can be divided into particles of clay (تراب), or it can be divided into its elements of water and earth (تربة) : flesh can be divided into particles of flesh, or it can be divided into its elements or roots (reading أو الاصول for والاصل : cf. *elementa seu radices*). But (he goes on) a hand cannot be divided into elemental hands, etc.

nec folia ad alia folia

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 7. We should emend the Arabic text to : ولا الورق لورق اخر

sed in his, radicibus et foliis est compositio . . . . . — ولكن فى الاصل والورق تركيب

So Meyer prints his text, explaining that some words must have dropped out, such as : *est compositio tantum ex partibus similibus, ex humore, carne, fibris,* etc. But this is not the idea of the author at all : he is pointing out the difference between some compounds (such as mud and flesh), *inorganic* compounds as he would think of them, and others, *organic*, such as the parts of animals and plants, which resemble one another in that they cannot be broken up into smaller particles *similar to themselves*. We must omit the comma after *his*.

illae enim habent corticem et carnem et testam et semen

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 8. We should add after *habent, quattuor coopertu-ras* (اربع طبقات). The word *testa* (here 'shell') is used to render نوى, the kernel of the olive : the Greek interpreter fails to understand the meaning of this, and does his best with *καὶ τί ὀστρακῶδες*, thinking of *testa* as meaning a potsherd. Then his Latin text betrays him, and he translates the following : *corticem et carnem et testam et semen et fructum. Quidam habent* etc. (for : *semen. Et fructuum quidam habent* etc.).

ex duobus corporibus — ذات قشرين

So Meyer, on the authority of G I and Albertus : all other sources give *corticibus* (φλοιῶν), which, being supported by the Arabic, must be incorporated into the text.

tres cooperturas (Gk : περικαλύμματα) ثلاث طبقات

The Greek is following the tradition of G I, which omits *tres*.

nec effectum aequalem effectui animalis ولا فعل مثل الحيوان

The Greek is : οὐδὲ διάθεσιν ἴσην διαθέσει ψυχῆς.
Evidently the error arises from reading *animae* for *animalis*.

f. 103 *b*.

et quando generabitur, remanebit in sua dispositione species واذا تكوّن بقى على حاله ابدا

G II omits *species*, and it is possible that, as no equivalent for this word occurs in the Arabic text as preserved to us, it was added for the sake of clearness by some copyist. It turns up also in the Greek : *καὶ ὅταν γεννηθῇ τι εἶδος φυτοῦ, μένει ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ διαθέσει.*

nec remanent, ut cortex et corpus, cadens a re abjiciente ipsum propter causam. . . ولا يبقى مثل القشور والجرم الساقط من الشىء يرميه وسسه

Meyer eventually gives up this passage as incurably corrupt, and it is not necessary in this place to refer to the ingenious conjectures which he makes as to the nature of the (to him) lost Arabic original, conjectures which are, unhappily, not substantiated by the facts. It is to be noted that the only variation which occurs between the text which Alfredus used, and that which has survived, lies in the letters of the word وسسه, which I tentatively emended to بسببه, an emendation which I do not propose to retain : Alfredus must have read لسبب. Let us, however, examine the whole context, and note the numerous discrepancies which occur.

Et flores et fructus et folia plantarum quandoque omni anno erunt, quaedam vero non sic; nec remanent, ut cortex et corpus, cadens a re

abjiciente ipsum propter causam. Et non est istud in planta, quia multotiens cadunt de planta partes multae non determinatae, sicut pili hominis et ungues in animali; et nascuntur pro eis aliae partes vel in loco, in quo fuerunt, vel extra in alio. Et jam certum est, quod partes plantae non sunt determinatae, sive sunt partes plantae, sive non. Et turpe est nobis dicere, res, cum quibus crescit animal et completur cum eis, non esse partes ejus; sed folia et omnia, quae sunt in eis, sunt partes ejus, licet non sint determinatae et paulatim decidant, quoniam cornua cervi, et capilli quorundam animalium et pili quorundam de eis, quae se abscondunt in tempore hyemali in caveis et sub terra, cadunt, et illud est simile casui foliorum.

The Arabic text of this passage will be found on p. 55 of the first number of the *Bulletin*, 11, 13-22.

I must confess that this passage appears to me to be beyond cure. There is no equivalent in our Arabic text for the words *non determinatae, sicut pili hominis et ungues in animali* (the last two words are missing in G I G II, and the Greek translator has not found them). Then there is a variation between *aliae partes vel in loco, in quo fuerunt, vel extra in alio.* The clause in the Arabic beginning at ومما ينبغى and ending at بجزء لأمه does not appear in the Latin or the Greek. In the face of such serious discrepancies, conjecture seems powerless to restore an accurate text : I suspect strongly that the Arab translator himself was here confronted with a corrupt Greek tradition, and that this is the true reason for the pure nonsense which he has written in the passage quoted in the last note. I am inclined to think that these words conceal a comparison between the flowers, fruit and leaves of the tree, which fall (or, in some cases, do not fall) every year, and the skin which is cast by snakes : but this is pure guesswork.

et fortitudine et debilitate

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 69, no. 7. It is evident that we must supply والضعف after والقوة .

ut lac (Gk : ὡς γάλα) ما هو لبن

We should read شبيه باللبن : cf. شبيه بالزفت

similis est pici (ut in abiete, et in quibusdam est aquosus) ut humor — شبيه بالزفت مثل الرطوبة

The words in brackets are supplied by Meyer to restore the text : but there is no equivalent for them in the Arabic, although it is true that they are sorely needed.

origanalis — صعترى

This is the reading adopted by Meyer, although it is only given by G I, and as an alternative by Albertus : Bas and G II read *originalis*, which is copied by the Greek *ἀρχέγονος*. It is a triumph for Meyer that he should have chosen so well, and also that he should have deduced a reference to *ὀρίγανον* (vid. *op. cit.*, p. 99).

in origano et in planta, quae dicitur opigaidum

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 9. The words *καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις* can be struck out as pure padding, for there is no authority for them in the Latin. As for *opigaidum*, this is the reading of G I, and it is followed in the Greek with *ὀπιγαΐς* : it is, however, a *vox nihili*, for no such word is to be found in the Greek language. Of the other MSS, Bas has *opigaldum*, which is substantially the same, G II has *epigader*, while Albertus gives *epygadrium*. The reading of our Arabic MS provides a neat solution of this impasse : it is of course *ὀρίγανον* in Arabic characters. The plant سعتر is thyme (*θύμος*), and صعترى must surely represent *θυμιατικὸς* in the original Greek, which must have read somewhat thus : *ἐν τισὶ δὲ θυμιατικὸς, ὡς ὁ χυμὸς ὁ ἐν τῷ θύμῳ καὶ τῷ ὀριγάνῳ*. The plant *ὀρίγανον* (in Latin *origanum*) is the aromatic herb called marjoram.

f. 104 *a*

est planta quae habet partes siccas; et est, quae habet partes terminatas nec similes nec aequales, et quaedam habent partes similes ad invicem, et quaedam habent aequales nec similes

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 1. The reading of Bas for this passage is : *est planta, quae habet partes terminatas, et quae habet partes similes ad invicem, et quae*

habet partes nec similes nec aequales, et quaedam habet partes aequales non similes. There is no origin for *ἕτερον ὑγρά, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα* in the Greek. With such diversity in such a seemingly haphazard catalogue, I do not care to speculate as to what is the correct text.

in diversitatibus (saporum) inaequalitate et augmento numeri et ejus detrimento — من الاختلاف فى الاستواء وزيادة العدد ونقصانه

Thus Meyer supplies *saporum,* arguing learnedly from Theophrastus. The Arabic shows that the Latin tradition is sound : *in diversitatibus in aequalitate et augmento numeri et ejus detrimento.* The *φυσικῇ* noted in *Bull.,* I, p. 69, no. 3 comes from the variant *naturali* for *numeri* found in G II.

et quaedam non erit unius modi

Vid. *Bull.,* I, p. 70, no. 4. The *τοιούτου* seems to derive from a misreading of *hujus* or *talis* for *unius.*

et quarundam a radice — ومنه ما ثمره معلق فى اصله

This suggests that we should read معلق بأصله

ut arbores Aegyptiae, quae dicuntur vargariaton — مثل الشجر الذى بمصر المعروف † بارحسو او ما فوق †

vargariaton is the reading of G I; Bas has *varcariariceo,* G II *margarita,* which is the basis of the Greek *μαργαρῖται.* Of the MSS of the book of Albertus Magnus, Basil reads *nagavariton,* and Argent has *margavaricon,* while editors print *nargavariton.* Meyer makes several suggestions as to the true name that lies concealed in this jungle of confused readings, vid. *op. cit.,* p. 72. Since the author is writing of a plant growing in Egypt, which has its fruit growing attached to its roots, an example which occurs at once to the mind is the peanut or فول سودانى; and there is in Greek the word *ἄρακος* or *ἄραχος,* which, we are told, is a kind of pulse or vetch. In Arabic characters, this would appear as ارخوس, which is very near indeed to what our MS gives us, ارحسو. As for the rest of the part of our text enclosed in daggers, I conjecture that this

should be read أو ما فوق, a gloss, referring to some variant reading written above in the archetype of our MS, and then mechanically copied into our text, thereby adding to the confusion. I would therefore rewrite the text thus : المعروف بأرخوس ومنه ما ثمره الخ [1]

et quarundam folia et nodi indiscreti sunt; et quarundam sunt folia aequalia et ad invicem similia; et quaedam habent ramos aequales earum quae habent ramos

ومن النبات ما ورقه وعقده غير مستور
ومن النبات ما ورقه مستور ومنه ما له
اغصان متساوية مثل النبات الذى له
ثلثة اغصان

The relevant Greek passages will be seen at p. 70 of *Bull.*, I, nos. 7-9. *οἱ καρποί* is derived from G II, which reads *fructus folia et modi.* The Greek translator seems to have had before him a text exhibiting considerable differences from that which Meyer published; it must have been something like this : *et quarundam fructus folia et nodi indiscreti sunt; et quarundam sunt folia ad invicem similia, quarundam non; et quaedam habent ramos aequales, quaedam non tales.* That مستور is corrupt, seems fairly certain : but I am at a loss to find an equivalent for *indiscreti* sufficiently similar to account for the corruption. As for the "three branches" mentioned in the Arabic (and omitted in the Latin, which seems to run into nonsense at this point), I know of no tree or plant that habitually has only three branches; but if there is one, then some words have fallen out of our text, and the whole passage should run : "Of some the leaves and notches are all of one kind (?), of others they are not so; some have equal branches (sc. equal in number on each side), others unequal, like the plant that has three branches (sc. two on one side and one on the other)".

omnium plantarum

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[1] Since this was written, Dr. Meyerhof has been so kind as to suggest that the plant here referred to is the *ἀράχιδνα* (vid. THEOPHRASTUS, *Hist. Plant.* I c. I VII) and that the Arabic equivalent is ملفوف. This is a neat solution.

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 10. The Greek translator renders *arborum*, which does not occur in any surviving MS.

et ista assimilantur membris animalium وهى تعدل أعضاء الحيوان

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 11. G II has *viriliter* for *membris*, and this is evidently the source of the variation in the Greek.

sicut statura erectionis شبيه بقائمة الشجر

This is the text which Meyer adopts, following Albertus. All the MSS read *similis staturae arboris*, and as this is the exact equivalent of the Arabic, it should undoubtedly be incorporated. The Greek translator introduces a fresh variant with *ἀνθρώπου*.

a radice arboris من قائمة النبات

Vid. *loc. cit.*, no. 13. قائمة is the trunk, شعب the branch, and غصن the twig.

ut fungi et tuberes

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 16. The Greek seems to read *similia* for *tuberes*.

f 104 *b*

et nodi et venae

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 1. The Greek seems to read *haec* for *nodi*.

et multotiens inveniuntur partes, quae aptae sunt ad generandum, ut folia et flores et parvae virgae, quae sunt flores praeter plantam; eodem modo et fructus et rami in planta, et (quae) nascuntur ex semine, et quod circumdat illud

وقد يوجد فى النبات اجزاء اخر تصلح للنتاج مثل الورق والزهر والقضبان الصغار التى فيها ورق النبات وكذلك الثمرة والغصن والفقاح النابت من البزور وما حوله

The Greek of this passage is : *καὶ πολλάκις εὑρίσκονται μέρη τινὰ ἐπιτήδεια εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν φύλλα καὶ ἄνθη. καὶ λύγοι δέ τινες βραχεῖς εἰσίν, εἰς τὸ γεννᾶν ἐπιτήδειοι ἄνθη, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἰτεῶν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἄνθη καὶ καρποὺς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις, καὶ τἆλλ' ὁπόσα γεννῶνται ἐκ σπέρματος, καὶ ὅσα περικαλύπτουσιν αὐτά.*

Meyer would exclude *quæ*, for which Bas had *rami et planta que.* At first sight this is a desperate affair : but fortunately there is a passage in Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* I c. 2) which exhibits so striking a similarity to this passage, that one cannot help concluding that it its the original of it : *ἄλλα δὲ ἐστὶν ὥσπερ ἐπέτεια μέρη τὰ πρὸς τὴν καρποτοκίαν, οἷον φύλλον, ἄνθος, μίσχος· τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ᾧ συνήρτηται πρὸς τὸ φυτὸν τὸ φύλλον καὶ ὁ καρπός· ἔτι δὲ ἕλιξ, βρύον, οἷς ὑπάρχει, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι σπέρμα τὸ τοῦ καρποῦ· καρπὸς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ συγκείμενον σπέρμα μετὰ τοῦ περικαρπίου.*

"There are other parts which are, as it were, annual, namely, the parts connected with fruitbearing, such as leaf, flower, stem (*μισχός*) — the latter is the part whereby the leaf and the fruit are connected with the plant — likewise tendril and catkin (in such plants as possess them), and, above all, the seed of the fruit : and the fruit consists of the seed lying in position, and the pod (*περικάρπιον*)."

On the evidence now before us, we can make the following conclusions :

I. اخر, which is obviously wrong, must be emended to اخرى : cf. *ἄλλα δὲ . . . . μέρη* in Theophrastus. That this word is not reproduced in the Latin, is probably due to haplography of احرا احرا, as the words would appear in a MS of this period, written without points and with ى written as ا.

II. The Arabic translator must have used a version of the Greek in which *ἐπέτεια* (annual) had become corrupted to *ἐπιτήδεια* : this explains تصلح, which is of course nonsense. It is interesting to note that تصلح becomes *ἐπιτήδεια* again after passing through *aptae* in the Latin, thus affording confirmation of the corruption in the original Greek.

III. *μίσχος* is rendered by القضبان الصغار : while التي فيها ورق النبات contains a rendering of *τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ᾧ συνήρτηται πρὸς τὸ φυτὸν τὸ φύλλον* in a mutilated form. الثمرة has become displaced, and should follow النبات; while after وكذلك (*ἔτι δὲ*) must have originally come the Arabic equivalents for *ἕλιξ, βρύον, οἷς ὑπάρχει.*

IV. The phrase *καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι σπέρμα τὸ τοῦ καρποῦ* has dropped out.

V. والقفاح النابت من البزور وما حوله is the remainder of an attempt to render *καρπὸς δ' ἐστὶ τὸ συγκείμενον σπέρμα μετὰ τοῦ περικαρπίου.*

In such a welter of corruption, conjecture becomes powerless, and only rewriting is of any avail. Here, however, we may note.

a) From III our text can almost certainly be restored thus : والقضبان الصغار التى بها تعلق ورق النبات بالنبات وثمرته وكذلك

b) From V we may conclude that we should read البزر for البزور, especially as this reading is supported by the Latin (*semine*), and is required by حوله .

ambrachion

For the context, vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 71 n. 3 (f. 104 *b*). This is the reading of G I and G II here : Bas has *ambrechion*, Albertus *ambragyon*. A little lower, where the same word recurs, *ambrachion* is read by Bas, *ambrachinon* by G II, and *mandragion* by G I. From these variants we may conclude that Alfredus had before him some such combination as امرحون or بامرحون, assuming that he took the initial for a preposition. The context clearly requires a word meaning 'bush' or 'shrub', for which we have in Greek θάμνος : and that in this context we must look for a transliteration of this word into Arabic characters, besides being a suggestion put forward by Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 77), who notes that Avicenna has the form ثمنش 'haud raro', is also indicated by the unanimity between our Arabic MS and the tradition in the Latin as to the letters امه and perhaps بامه. Further than this it does not seem possible to speculate.

inter arbores et herbas minutas

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 4. We must emend the Arabic to : بين الشجر والعشب

ut id quod dicitur magnus cannae et rubus مثل النبات المعروف † بفار الوس † ومثل القصب والعوسج

The Greek is : ὡς τὰ καλούμενα ἄγνοι καὶ βάτοι.

Evidently the Greek translator was using a Latin text in which *magnus* and *cannae* were fused into *agni*. القصب is of course *cannae*, and العوسج is *rubus*. What, then, are we to read into the strange form *magnus*, and

its equally strange original † بهار الوس †? What but *παλίουρος*, which is found in company with *βάτος* e. g. in Theophrastus *op. cit.* (vid. Meyer p. 77), and, in its Latin dress, *paliurus*, with *rubus* (*βάτος*) as at Columella, *De Re Rustica* XI 3 : *semina vastissimarum spinarum, maximeque rubi et paliuri*, cf. Vergil, *Eclogues* 5.39 : *spinis surgit paliurus acutis.* In Arabic characters this name becomes فاليورس, which is not so very far from what our MS gives. Meyer's guesses in this context make very interesting reading.

et non possumus haec omnia nisi per syllogismos et exempla et descriptiones manifestare — وانما جعلنا هذه الاشياء قياسات ومثالا ورسما

Bas and G II omit *manifestare*. The Greek is : *οὐ δυνάμεθα δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπίσ7ασθαι εἰ μὴ κτλ.*

I suggest that we should omit *manifestare*, and emend *possumus* to *posuimus* (= جعلنا).

ut olus, quod dicitur olus regium — مثل البقلة المعروفة بالمؤحية

For *regium* Bas and G II have *regum*, which is however substantially the same. The Arabic text is evidently corrupt, and we must look for some Greek word in Arabic characters in place of المؤخية, for our author commonly introduces a Greek word in Arabic garb with المعروف بكذا وكذا. Now Meyer points out (*op. cit.*, p. 79) that Theophrastus, in a similar context, mentions the plant called *μαλάχη* : this name has passed over into Arabic in the form ملوخية or ملوخيا. We must therefore emend بالمؤخية to بالملوخية. As for Alfredus, he was apparently at a loss to understand the somewhat rare word before him, and supposed that the phrase was a corruption of some form of the root ملك.

acelga

Meyer (*ibid.*) correctly identifies this strange form as representing the Arabic السلق.

in figura granorum plantae — على شكل نبات الحبوب † والفاسوا †

Above we have already met the forms بامسو اوحبوب and بامسو أو حبوب and in both contexts we concluded that the word θάμνος must have been in the original Greek : and it is entirely appropriate to the present context that the same word should be looked for.

ut vovet et fingekest (i. e. pentaphyllon), et planta, quae dicitur bacca caprarum	مثل التين والفنجكشت والنبات المعروف † بهار السوس † والعليق

For *vovet* (which is only found in Albertus), G I reads *vestiet,* Bas *vecciet,* G II *ventilli :* the Greek version has Ἀραβικοὶ βέντελοι. In a similar passage, Theophrastus names the following : ἄγνος, παλίουρος, κιττός (vid. Meyer, *ibid.,* p. 80). Now παλίουρος is evidently to be found in the corruption بهار السوس (cf. بهار الوس above) : and فنجكشت, a Persian word, is identified with ἄγνος, the "chaste-tree". It must remain a mystery, how Alfredus produced *bacca caprarum* from these letters. The word العليق is not represented in the Latin. Are we, then, to conjecture that some word for κιττός or κισσός ('ivy') lies behind the specious التين and the mysterious variety of forms used by the Latin MSS. as its equivalent?

myrtus quoque et malus et pirus sub hoc genere continentur	دخل الآس والتفاح والكمثرى والرمان فى مثل هذه الاشياء

Alfredus' MS seems to have lost والرمان.

f 105 *a*

multi et superflui	كثيرة جداً

Vid. *Bull.,* I, p. 71 no. 1. *et superflui* is to bring out the force of جداً.

et quaedam nascuntur et vivunt in locis aridissimis, ut in terra Aethiopum, quae dicitur Ziara	ومنه ما يعشب فى الصحراء

For يعشب the MS has يعش : this may be meant for يعيش, but the context asks rather for يعشب, and so I have emended. Meyer correctly conjectures that *Ziara* is for Sahara (sc. الصحراء).

in locis altis, et quaedam in humido loco, et quaedam in arido, et quaedam vivunt in utroque — على التلول ومنه ما يعشب على البر والماء

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 72 nos. 7, 8. The Arabic seems to have become somewhat abbreviated.

ut salix et atharafa — مثل العرف والطرفاء والاشنة

Theophrastus mentions three trees as particularly prone to grow near water, viz. *μυρρίνη* (emended by Schneider to *μυρίκη* 'tamarisk'), *ἰτέα* 'willow', and *κλῆθρα* 'alder' (vid. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p 82). Meyer correctly identifies *atharafa* with الطرفاء 'tamarisk', and *salix* points to a word for 'willow' in the Arabic.

et planta terrae affixa non separatur ab ea. Quidam quoque loci meliores sunt quibusdam.

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 72 no. 8. Evidently Alfredus' text lacked تغير, and also the phrase وتربة اجود من تربة.

f 105 *b*

ut mediannus — مثل † البلاس †

So G I. Bas and the Later Latin Version have *medianus;* G II *medua;* Albertus *ut sunt istae per dimidium annum durantes, propter quod et mediannes dicuntur;* the Greek version gives *μεσιτεύων*, a desperate expedient. Meyer conjectures that the Arabic original was ما هو دانه, the *euphorbia lathyris.*

ut alaz (, et i. e. rhamnus) — مثل العوسج

So Meyer prints his text. Albertus writes : *ut ramnus, qui alaz Arabice dicitur.* G II has *ut alanar, i. rampnus;* Bas, *ut alacer, et i. rampnus;* G I *ut allatum et rampnus.* Alfredus attempted to transliterate the Arabic word, and then gave the Latin equivalent, and this is the origin of so much confusion.

et quaedam carent ramis, et quaedam habent ramos multos, ut morus silvestris

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 72 no. 5. Alfredus omits the words كالثيل as well he might.

nascitur in solo ramo تنبت له شعبة واحدة

For *ramo* G II has *raro,* which was translated by the Greek interpreter ἀραιῶς.

olivae et nucis pineae كالزيتون والجوز والصنوبر

We should insert *et* after *nucis.*

ex carne et osse et grano, ut pruna; quidam ex carne et grano, ut cucumeres

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 73 no. 10. There is a fundamental difference here.

f. 106 *a*

et quosdam fructus quidam comedere possunt, quidam vero non; et quosdam quaedam animalia comedunt, quaedam vero non. Fructuum iterum quidam sunt in siliquis, ut grana; quidam in coopertura sicut tela, ut triticum

Vid. *Bull.*, I p. 73 no. 1. Evidently some words have dropped out in the Arabic, corresponding to *fructuum iterum . . . ut triticum.*

et quidam in cafta, ut belotae (glandes), et quidam in caftis multis ومنه ما هو فى قشر كالبلوط واللفاح ومنه ما هو فى قشور كثيرة

Meyer conjectures *cafta* and *caftis,* supposing this to be a latinisation of the word جفت, in support of which he quotes the following sentence from Avicenna :

واشد ما فى البلوط قبضاً هو جفته وهو قشره الداخل

Now the MSS read as follows : *in cascha . . . in tascis* G I; *in casia . . . in casis* Bas; *in cassa . . . in cassis* G II. In the corresponding passage in Albertus Magnus, cod. Bas. has *casca,* cod. Argent. *casta.* On this evidence, and with the original Arabic before us, we cannot doubt that Alfredus is doing his best to put the word قشر into Latin characters.

Meyer correctly identifies *belotae* with بلوط. The Latin equivalent for لفاح (mandragoras) has dropped out.

ut mora et cerasa كالتوت

This is the reading of G II only. Bas has *mora cerasa,* G I *mora.*

ut omnes fructus silvestres

Vid. *Bull.,* I, p. 73 no. 4. A little later التين الجبلى is rendered by *ficus silvestres*

quaedam tarde

Vid. *ibid.,* p. 74 no. 5. The omission in the Latin is due probably to the homoeoteleuton ومنه ما ..... ومنه ما.

quaedam ad albedinem, quaedam ad rubedinem

Vid. *ibid.,* no. 7. G II adds : *propter calorem inflammantem aerem admixtum cum terrico.* This is clearly the origin of the inflated Greek text.

sed et figura fructus, si fuerit silvestris, est diversorum modorum واما شكل الثمار فما كان منه † حرس † فهو مختلف

In the published text I conjectured جزئين for † حرس † : now, however, with *silvestris* (ἄγρια) before us, it is safe to conclude that we should read احرش.

f. 106 *b*

ut artemisiae in adul silvestre, et olivarum in botam كالفستق فى اللوز والبطم بالزيتون

For *artemisiae* (G I), G II has *arthemele,* Bas *marchemesie.* G I has *in adul silvestri,* Bas *in adul silvestris,* G II *in advulsum silvestre,* Albertus *in absinthium.* The Greek of this passage is : ὡς ἀρτεμισία εἰς ἀγρίαν ἀρτεμισίαν καὶ καλλιέλαιος εἰς ἀγριόλαιον. The Arabic rescues us from this morass of obscurities, but it is difficult to understand how such corruptions arose. Meyer rightly identifies *botam* (so Bas; *betam* G I, G II) with بطم.

quaedam pejus, et a quibusdam malis seminibus bonae arbores proveniunt

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 74, no. 1. But Bas and G I omit *quaedam pejus* (*τινὰ χεῖρον*), and the Arabic proves that they are to be rejected.

in palmis quoque si folia vel pulvis foliorum vel cortex masculae palmae foliis femineae palmae apponantur, ut cohaereant

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 2. There is evidently corruption of some sort in the Arabic text, which may be emended thus :

فاما النخل الانثى فاذا نشر فى طلعه من طلع الخ

ex quibusdam horum vel omnibus

Vid. *ibid.*, no. 3. The phrase ويكون طلعه ايضا دقيقا is seemingly a doublet of فيصير طلعه رقيقا, or perhaps it is a gloss noting the variant دقيقا for رقيقا : and it has displaced from the text the words which are translated by *ex quibusdam horum vel omnibus.*

quando folia masculi inter illa fuerint apprehensa — اذا جعل فيها من طلع الذكر

The Greek is : *ὁπόταν τὰ φύλλα τοῦ ἄρρενος τῷ θήλει ἀπαιωρῶνται. Inter illa* is taken by Meyer from Albertus : all the MSS give *in illa,* and this is evidently correct (فيها). For *apprehensa* (G I), Bas G II read *appensa* (*ἀπαιωρῶνται*). If جعل is right, perhaps we should read *apposita,* cf. *apponantur* above.

The next phrase, واما بزر الاترج .... ويخرج السمّ, is not translated by Alfredus, and does not appear in the Greek : probably it is to be regarded as a gloss.

dicitur quoque, quod calamentum transmutatur in mentam. Terugenaque abscissa et plantata secus mare viride fortasse fiet sesebram — ويزعمون ان النمام ربما تغيّر وصار نعنعا والباذروج اذا حصد وصير بقرب البحر الاحمر ربما صار شاهسفرم

Meyer has a long and learned note on this passage, of which the following speculative table of equivalents is the end :

Nicolaus	Arabic	Latin
σισύμβριον	فوذنج	calamentum
μίνθη	نعناع	mentha
ὤκιμον	ترنجان	terugena
ἕρπυλλον	نمام أو سيسنبر	sesebra

Theophrastus in a similar context states that sisymbrium (*σισύμβριον*) changes into mint (*μίνθη*), and basil (*ὤκιμον*) into thyme (*ἕρπυλλον*). Now *calamentum* is the same as *σισύμβριον*, and there is little doubt that شاهسفرم is an attempt to transliterate this word into Arabic. On the other hand, *sesebra* (Albertus), *soesebram* Bas, *schelapram* G I, *cellebra* G II, represent Alfredus' attempt to put the selfsame شاهسفرم into Latin characters. If we interchange شاهسفرم and النمام, we probably get the first of Theophrastus' examples accurately reproduced : and of the second, we get the second term, thyme (النمام), correctly in place. It therefore remains to obtain the Arabic for basil out of الباذروج in the MS. and *teruga* G I *terrugena* G II *turregene* Bas; *turego* Albertus (MS. Basil.) *citrego* Albertus (MS. Argent.). *Viride* is due to reading الاخضر for الاحمر.

f. 107 *a*

stercore porcino fimata إذا طرد فى اصله من بزر الخبازى

Theophrastus *Hist. Plant.* II c 2 xi : *τῇ θεραπείᾳ δὲ μεταβάλλει ῥόα καὶ ἀμυγδαλῆ. ῥόα μὲν κόπρον ὑείαν λαβοῦσα καὶ ὕδατος πλῆθος ῥυτοῦ· ἀμυγδαλῆ δὲ ὅταν πάτταλόν τις ἐνθῇ, καὶ τὸ δάκρυον ἀφαιρῇ τὸ ἐπιρρέον πλείω χρόνον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀποδιδῷ θεραπείαν.*

It is impossible to doubt that this is the origin of our Arabic : presumably the whole passage was incorporated into Nicolaus' epitome. We must emend بزر الخبازى to براز الخنازير.

in Coruma (Gk : *ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ*) فى بلد فرونية وأفرنسية

So G I : *in coruna* Bas *in vico Roma* G II. Albertus Magnus gives *coronia* (Basil.) *coronya* (Argent.). It is clear from this evidence that, we should emend فرونية to قرونية : this is the ancient Κορόνη, a town in the Peloponnese. How appropriate this name is in this context, will be appreciated by a perusal of Meyer's note at the bottom of page 103 of his book, where he quotes Theophrastus as mentioning Laconia as a place where this phenomenon occurs. It seems probable that وأفرنسية is a corruption of أو قرنية, recording a variant spelling : it should therefore be struck out.

ex suo ligno — من خشبه الاملس

Perhaps the adjective الاملس is a gloss.

quaedam ubique

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 75, no. 7. This phrase is omitted in G II.

f. 107 *b*

et quaedam uno anno fructificant, altero reficiuntur, ut olivae, licet multos ramos producant, quibus cooperiuntur

Vid. *Bull.*, I, p. 75, no. 1 (f. 107 *b*). It is evident that the corresponding passage in the Arabic has dropped out.

quaedam in juventute fertiliores sunt quam in senectute; quaedam e contro melius fructificant (*in senectute*), ut amygdali, piri et ilex. — ومنه ما يحمل فى وقت كبره وهرمه اكثر من حمله فى شبيبته

Such is the reading of Bas (the words in italics are added by Meyer). For the first clause, G I has *quaedam in juventute steriles, fertiles sunt in senectute;* G II has *quaedam in juventute steriliores sunt quam in senectute,* and this is the reading of Albertus and of the Greek. It looks as though the confusion has arisen from Alfredus' clumsy attempt at periphrasis. For *ilex* we have in the Greek αἴγειροι, a sheer mistranslation.

silvestrium et hortensium — البستانى

Perhaps we should read : الجبلى والبستانى.

quia masculus spissior, durior, ramosior, minus humorosus, fructus brevior, minus maturabilis — لأن الذكر اكثف من الأنثى وأكثر أغصانا وأقل رطوبة وثماره أصغر وأقل نضوجا

Bas omits *fructus brevior;* G I reads *magis maturabilis* (cf. *καὶ ταχύτερον εἰς ϖέπανσιν*); G II has *minus humorosus maturabilis.* It is evident that some word equivalent to *durior* has dropped out in the Arabic.

ut cognoscamus arbores per se et genera per se — أن نفرس فى الشجر على حدته

Mayer holds *et genera per se* suspect, and has little doubt that what is wanted is *et olera :* our Arabic however gives a clear meaning, 'separately'.

et inspiciamus libros eorum de his scriptos — وتمارس علومهم وكتبهم الموضوعة فى هذه الاشياء

This suggests that we should read نمارس. It is interesting to note that Bas reads *scientiis* for *scriptos,* for this is undoubtedly the correct tradition (علومهم).

et nos poterimus perscrutari eorum medullam perscrutatione compendiosa — ونحن قادرون على فحص اقدر من هذا

Alfredus evidently had before him a text somewhat different from ours.

et plantas vinales, et plantas medicinales — وعن النبات الخمرى الشرابى وعن النبات الطبيعى وعن نبات الادوية

We should probably strike out the superfluous and meaningless words الشرابى ومن النبات الطبيعى.

et inquiramus proprietates omnium plantarum, et maxime radicum; et quare quidam fructus mollefiunt, quidam non

Vid. *Bull.,* I, p. 76, no. 8. The two clauses were reversed in Alfredus' original.

f. 108 *a*

et quare quidam ventrem provocant — وكيف صار بعضهم يهيج شهوة الجماع

This is perhaps Meyer's most unfortunate reading. The Greek is *καὶ πῶς τινὲς ἀφροδίτην προκαλοῦνται*, and G II reads *veneram* for *ventrem*. There is not the least doubt that we should read *venerem,* which actually occurs in the later Latin version.

(quare quarundam fructus faciunt lac, quarundam non)

Vid. *Bull., loc. cit.,* no. 1. Meyer rightly rejects this phrase as spurious.

CORRIGENDA.

Bull., I, 1.

	الخطأ	الصواب
P. 54, l. 12	لم يستتم كامله	لم يستتم كماله
55, l. 5 from end	بانتشار	بانتثار
56, l. 8	معلق بقامته	ملصق بقامته
57, l. 14	اذا لم يعد بفلاحته	اذا لم يعن بفلاحته

THE FOUNDATION OF CAIRO

BY

K. A. C. CRESWELL.

Origin of the Fāṭimid Dynasty. — Establishment at Qairawān. — Astrological reasons for an attack on Egypt. — Gōhar, the General of al-Mu'izz, the fourth Fāṭimid Khalif, invades Egypt. — Fall of Fusṭāṭ. — Foundation of al-Qāhira (Cairo). — The Walls and Gates.

ORIGIN OF THE FAṬIMID DYNASTY.

The Fāṭimids [1] traced the origin of their dynasty to 'Ubaydallāh the Mahdī, whom they claimed to be the brother of the twelfth Īmām who had mysteriously vanished at Sāmarrā. There are other versions [2] and, according to one of them, he was the son of one of the «hidden» Īmāms who succeeded to the direction of the sect after the death of the seventh Īmām. However, in spite of De Gœje's learned and ingenious study [3], Becker [4] and Reitemeyer [5] both agree that the origin of the Fāṭimids is still involved in obscurity. The opponents of the Fāṭimids attributed the origin of the dynasty to Ma'mun al-Qaddāh, an oculist who founded

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(1) So called, as the author of the *Jāmi' at-Tawārikh* says, because they based their claims to spiritual and temporal authority «on the nobility of their descent from Fāṭima,» the Prophet's daughter; see Browne (E. G.), *Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 195.

(2) For a discussion of this question see Quatremère, *Mémoires historiques sur la dynastie des Khalifes Fâtimides, Journal asiatique*, 3e série, t. II, p. 97 ff.

(3) *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein et les Fatimides* (Leyde, 1886).

(4) *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, I, p. 2.

(5) *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, p. 112.

an extreme Shi'a sect[1]. He died A.D. 875 and his son ʿAbdullāh carried on his teachings, established seven stages of initiation and claimed to be an Īmām of the family of Muhammad, the son of Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq. He acquired a great reputation at Aḥwāz, but eventually had to flee to Baṣra and then to Salamīya where a son named Aḥmad was born to him.

At his death, Aḥmad succeeded him and sent a Dā'ī[2] to ʿIrāq. The latter met Hamdān ibn al-Ash'ath, known under the name of Qarmaṭ, who was converted, and became the founder of the Qarmathians. These in turn became the forerunners of the Fāṭimids. Aḥmad had two sons, Ḥusayn and Muḥammad, known as Abū ash-Shalaghlagh. Ḥusayn succeeded his father and he, on his death, was succeeded, not by his son Sa'id, but by his brother Abū ash-Shalaghlagh, who sent two *dā'īs* to Morocco, viz : — Abū ʿAbdallāh and his brother Abū l-ʿAbbās. They established themselves among the Berbers with extraordinary success and soon acquired an enormous following of armed men, by means of whom the last Aghlabid prince, Ziyādat-Allah, was driven out of the country in 909 A. D.[3]

A son of Ḥusayn named Saʿid had meanwhile been brought up by his uncle Abū ash-Shalaghlagh. He became celebrated at Salamīya (15 miles east of Ḥamā) after the death of the latter, but later on had to flee to Morocco by way of Egypt, where he narrowly escaped arrest, a fate which actually overtook him at Sigilmāsa. He was rescued by the victorious Abū ʿAbdallāh, who humbly prostrated himself before him and hailed him as the expected Mahdī and, in Rabīʿ II, 297 (January, 910), he was prayed for in the Mosque of Qairawān as «the Īmām ʿUbaydallāh al-

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[1] E. g. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Shaddād Himyarī, in Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 20 ff., translated by Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb*, p. 276 ff. The following version is taken from Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 348; Casanova's trans., IV, pp. 2-4; also translated in Silvestre de Sacy's, *Chrestomathie*, 2ᵉ éd., II, p. 88. See also Quatremère, *loc. cit.*, p. 115 ff.

[2] The title means «missionary», literally «he who calls». It was the fifth in the scale of dignitaries in the sect; see Carra de Vaux's article «Dā'ī» in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, I, p. 895.

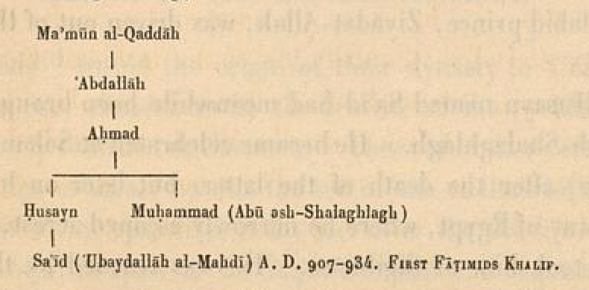
[3] See Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, pp. 30-36; translated by Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb*, pp. 290-99.

Mahdī, Commander of the Faithful»[1]. Abū ʿAbdallāh soon found himself ignored and, becoming jealous, began to cast doubts on the genuineness of the Mahdī, saying that he ought to work miracles and so give proofs of his mission. The Mahdī nipped the danger in the bud by having him murdered[2], and ruled for twenty five years, establishing his authority from Fez to the frontiers of Egypt, against which he had sent three expeditions, in 301 H. (913)[3] 302 H. (914)[4] and 306 H. (918)[5]. He founded al-Mahdīya in Dhu'l-qāda 303 (7th May 916)[6] and died there in Rabīʿ I 322. Until then he had resided at Raqqāda[7] four miles from Qairawān.

He was succeeded by his son Abu'l-Qāsim, who took the title of al-Qāim. He sent an army against Egypt and took Alexandria, but was driven out by the brother of the Ikhshīd and sustained a crushing defeat

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[1] I give below his genealogy in tabular form for the sake of clearness : —



[2] His murderers sarcastically replied to his protests saying «He whom thou has told us to obey, has told us to kill thee». ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd al-Qurṭubī, transl. by Nicholson, *An Account of the Fatemite Dynasty in Africa* (Bristol, 1840), p. 126; Ibn al-Athīr, p. VIII, p. 41 (Fagnan's transl., *Annales*, p. 307); and Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p, 351, l. 5 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 12).

[3] Ibn al-Athīr, VII, p. 63.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 83-4.

[6] Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 351, l. 14 (transl., IV, p. 12). Al-Bakrī, a much earlier authority, for he wrote in the eleventh century A. D., gives fuller details, saying that ʿUbaydallāh first inspected the place in 300 (912/3), that the walls were finished in 305 (917/8) and that the Prince made his entry into the new town in Shauwāl 308 (Feb./March. 921). *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale,* trad. par Mac Guckin de Slane (1913, ed.), p. 68; also given in Reitemeyer's, *Stätdtegründungen,* p. 138.

[7] Al-Bakrī, p. 28, transl., p. 69 [63]; and Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 38.

during his retreat [1]. He died 13 Shauwāl 334 (18th May 946) after a reign of twelve years, and was succeeded by his son al-Manṣūr, who, in 337 (948/9) founded Manṣūrīya, the fourth royal suburb built in the neighbourhood of Qairawān [2]. He reigned until his death in Shauwāl 341, and was succeeded by his son al-Muʿizz who was then twenty-four years of age. Al-Muʿizz was a highly educated and cultivated man as well as an energetic ruler. With the assistance of his Prime-Minister and Commander-in-Chief Gōhar, a Byzantine Greek, he soon brought order and tranquillity to his kingdom. This however, was merely a prelude to the conquest of Egypt, the aim of his life, for which purpose he had amassed a fortune of twenty-four million dinars, and spent two years in digging wells and building rest houses on the road to Alexandria [3].

Astrological reasons for attack on Egypt. — De Gœje suggests that al-Muʿizz was led to meditate this attack on Egypt on account of the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of the Ram in 356 (967). In support of this view he shows by numerous examples the enormous part astrology played in the daily life of the medieval East, especially among the Fāṭimids. He mentions the books on astrology and the occult sciences of which ʿUbaydallāh (later the Mahdī) was robbed near Ṭahūna when he was a fugitive in Africa. These books, which were recovered by al-Qāīm during his otherwise profitless campaign against Egypt, are supposed to have contained the prediction, current at that time, that the rule of the Arabs in the west would cease at the end of the third century of the Hijra [4]. This prediction, according to de Gœje, was undoubtedly

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[1] Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 213.

[2] Al-Bakrī, transl., de Slane, p. 64 [58]; and Reitemeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[3] For the above see Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 349-353 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 7-17), and Lane Poole, *History of Egypt*, pp. 92-101.

[4] Compare the similar prediction as to the duration of Cairo in Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 372, transl., IV, pp. 69-70) and his statement that whenever Saturn has entered Gemini, famine has afflicted Egypt. Equally fatal to the country, according to him, is the conjunction of Saturn and Mars in Cancer. The prediction as to the duration of Cairo being 460 years is also referred to by Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, in *Notices et Extraits*, XX, p. 231.

connected with the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of the Ram, due in 296 (908), a year which actually did witness the fall of the Aghlabids and the inauguration of Fāṭimid rule at Qairawān. It is known that the Fāṭimids expected that a new era, the era of the true religion, would commence with a state of the heavens due in 316 H. (928). The origin of his dynasty dating from 296 (908), de Gœje suggests, with great probability, that al-Mu'izz, who is known to have been well versed in astrology[1], was prompted by a similar conjunction in 356 (967), to commence in this year the equipment of his great expedition against Egypt[2]. He reminds us that even Hūlāgū Khān in 656 (1258) at the summit of his power, did not dare to attack Baghdād until his astrologer, the celebrated aṭ-Ṭūsī, had reassured him[3].

The invasion of Egypt. — As a result of internal disorders, famine caused by a low Nile and plague, Egypt lay helpless and open to an invader, and its precarious position was fully reported to al-Mu'izz by the refugee Ya'qūb ibn Killis, a renegade Jew and former favourite of Kāfūr. The Arab tribes were accordingly summoned, and Gōhar at the head of 100,000 men, with ample stores and equipment ou pack animals, marched from Qairawān 14 Rabī' I, 358 (5th Feb. 969)[4]. He arrived at Gīza in 17th Sha'bān 358 (6th July 969)[5], forced the passage of the river and, falling upon the army drawn up on the east bank, totally

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(1) Quatremère, *Vie du Khalife Moezz, Journal asiatique,* 3e série, t. II, p. 207, quoting Ibn al-Athīr, Haidar-Razī and an-Nowayrī.

(2) *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahrein* (1886), pp. 115-128, and especially, pp. 121-124.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 128.

(4) Quatremère, *Vie du Khalife Moezz, loc. cit.*, t. II, pp. 425-435; Lane Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-2; and Mann (J.), *The Jews in Egypt under the Fāṭimid Caliphs,* I, p. 17.

(5) Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, p. 435; Fagnan's transl., *Annales,* pp. 366-7; Ibn al-Adhārī, *Bayān,* I, p. 229; Fagnan's transl., I, p. 321; Abu'l-Fidā, *Taqwīm,* p. 108; Reinaud's transl., I, p. 148; and his *Ta'rīkh,* II, p. 498; Ibn Duqmāq, V, p. 35, ll. 16-17 and 20; Qalqashandī, p. 349; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 68 (gives date as 12th Sha'bān); Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* I, p. 361, l. 20; Casanova's transl., IV, p. 42 (also transl., in Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens,* p. 190).

defeated it[1]. The City then surrendered; the Fāṭimid Army passed through Fusṭāṭ in triumph[2] and camped on the great sandy plain lying to the north[3] a plain which was bounded on the east by the Muqaṭṭam[4], and on the west by the Khalīg, a canal which left the Nile to the north of Fusṭāṭ, passed by the ancient Heliopolis and finally entered the sea at Suez. This plain was free from buildings except those belonging to the Garden of Kāfūr, a Coptic monastery called Dayr al-ʿIḍam, which occupied the site of the Mosque of al-Aqmar, and a little castle called Qaṣr ash-Shauk, the name of which still survives, as the name of a quarter[5].

Foundation of al-Qāhira (Cairo). — That very night Gōhar marked out (*ikhtaṭa*) the site of the palace destined for the reception of

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[1] Within less than a century the story of this conquest had become surrounded with legend, and a fantastic account of it is given by Nāṣir-i-Khusrau, who says that the troops of al-Muʿizz, consisting of 30,000 mounted slaves, swam accross the Nile, led by a black dog, whilst the Khalif himself came by sea, sailed up the Nile and beached his ships. Nāṣir claims to have seen seven of them in 439 (1046/7). He omits all reference to Gōhar and attributes the foundation of Cairo to the Khalif himself; see Schefer's, *Nassiri Khusrau*, pp. 125-6.

[2] Yāqūt makes the extraordinary statement that the inhabitants of Fusṭāṭ had made an agreement with him that he should not settle down in the town. Reitemeyer rejects this account as very improbable (*Städtegründungen*, p. 113) and also points out that Maqrīzī's statement that the Khalif had designated the site beforehand in contradicted by another statement of his (and of Ibn Duqmāq, V, p. 36, ll. 8-11) that the Khalif on his arrival at the end of 361 (972) was not satisfied with the site chosen by Gōhar, and would have preferred the neighbouring heights (i. e. the high ground south of Fusṭāṭ, to-day dotted with the remains of Napoleon's windmills), or one on the banks of the Nile (*op. cit.*, p. 113).

[3] This area to-day is either covered with houses or mounds of debris, and no sand is visible until one comes to Abbassīya. However, excavations at the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar (the north-eastern angle of Saladin's enclosure) have shown that there is fine yellow sand at a depth of about 7 metres below the present ground level. The foundations of the Burg aẓ-Ẓafar rest on this stratum.

[4] That part of this canal which passed through Cairo was filled up at the end of the nineteenth century, and its place taken by the tram line which runs from the Mosque of Sayeda Zenab to adh-Dhāhir. This street bears the name of Sharia Khalīg al-Maṣrī.

[5] For a discussion of this topography see Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et sur la Topographie du Caire, M. M. A. F. C.*, I, pp. 415-419.

al-Muʿizz, and when the notables of Fusṭāṭ came next morning to congratulate him, they found that the foundations had already been excavated. He made an enclosure, about 1200 years square, of sun-dried bricks (*ṭūb*)[1]. Maqrīzī says that in his day a long section of this wall still existed « 50 cubits behind the present wall » (i. e. Saladin's), between the Bab al-Barqīya and the Darb Baṭūṭ, until it was destroyed in 803 (1400/1). He remarks on the astonishing size of the bricks — 1 cubit long and 2/3 of a cubit wide — and says that the wall was thick enough for two horsemen to ride abreast[2]. It is curious to find that Yāqūt[3] uses the very same expression when speaking of the thickness of the walls of the Qaṣr of al-Mahdīya, the first capital of the Fāṭimids. The reason for broad ramparts is sufficiently obvious. It is to enable the body of men defending the wall being rapidly rushed to any spot threatened by escalade or otherwise. As early as Roman times it was the practice of the besiegers to construct great towers of wood, moveable and higher than the walls to be attacked. These, when brought up to the walls, commanded the ramparts and, by means of flying bridges, allowed a storming party to be thrown upon them. Unless the ramparts were broad the besieged would only be able to oppose a single line of men to a deep column of attack[4]. It was to be a fortified enclosure containing two palaces[5] for the Khalif, Government Offices, and quarters for the garrison. There were also many other buildings, such as the Treasury, Mint, Library, the Imperial Mausoleum, Arsenal, Stables, etc.

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[1] Ibn Duqmāq, V, p. 36, l. 6; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 377, l. 13 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 81). See also Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr*, I, p. 45, l. 12; and van Berchem, *Notes*, p. 38.

[2] *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 377, l. 33 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 82-83). Van Berchem suggests (*Notes*, p. 39, n. 1) that the cubit spoken of by Maqrīzī is the *dhirāʿ baladi*, the base of the whole Egyptian system of measurement. It measures .578 m., which gives 58×38.5 cm. as the size of the bricks used. This may be regarded as a certain, for Maqrīzī's measurement of the south side of the Mosque of ʿAmr as 190 cubits gives 109.82 m. on this basis, and its actual length is 109.20 internally.

[3] IV, p. 694, l. 20, quoted by Reitemeyer, *Städtegründungen*, p. 139.

[4] See Viollet-le-Duc, *Military Architecture*, Macdermott's, transl , 2nd ed., pp. 24-25.

[5] The Eastern or Great Palace and the Western or Lesser Palace.

The intention of Gōhar is very clearly expressed by Ibn Duqmāq[1] who says that he «built palaces for his master so that he and his friends and their armies were separate from the general public, as [later on] was the custom with the kings who were sons of ʿAbd al-Mumīn, and who did so in Marrākesh and Tlemcen and other places».

It was first named al-Manṣūrīya, *The Victorious*, evidently after the palace-city al-Manṣūrīya, founded outside Qairawān by al-Manṣūr billāh, the father of al-Muʿizz. This coincidence in names struck Kay, who remarks[2] that the foundation of an isolated and fortified palace-city appears to have been simply in accordance with the already established custom of the Fāṭimid Court[3], and that al-Manṣūrīya, which neither became the nucleus of a new city nor superseded Qairawān, the ancient capital, was doubtless the prototype of al-Qāhira. It is pretty evident, as Reitemeyer has pointed out[4], that Gōhar must have had orders to build a palace-city which should stand in the same relationship to Fusṭāṭ as Manṣūrīya did to Qairawān, and in this connection it is interesting to note that two of the gates of Manṣūrīya, according to al-Bakrī[5] were named Bāb Zuwayla and Bāb al-Futūḥ, names which we shall see adopted for two of the gates of Cairo. It recalls in many of its aspects the arrangement at Pekin, of the Chinese City, the Tartar City and the «Forbidden City», as laid out by Kubilai Qāān three centuries later[6]. As Kay has pointed out, there is nothing to show that either Gōhar or his master intended to found a new city in the ordinary sense of the word,

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(1) V, p. 36, ll. 7-8. Maqrīzī, however (I, p. 364, l. 26; Casanova's transl., IV, p. 49; also translated in Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens*, p. 193) is not so specific.

(2) *Al-Ḳāhirah and its Gates, J. R. A. S.*, 1882, p. 233.

(3) And of the Aghlabids before them. The first act of Ibrāhīm, the founder of the dynasty, was to build al-ʿAbbāsīya, a royal enclosure, three miles to the south of Qairawān, to which it bore the same relationship as al-Manṣūrīya did later on; see Balādhurī, p. 234; Hitti's transl., p. 371; al-Bakrī, p. 28; de Slane's transl., pp. [70-71] 64; Ibn al-Athīr, VI, p. 107; Ibn al-ʿAdhārī, I, p. 84; Fagnan's transl., I, p. 112; etc.

(4) *Städtegründungen*, p. 114.

(5) P. 25; de Slane's transl., p. 64 [58].

(6) See Yule's *Marco Polo* (3rd ed.), I, pp. 392-378.

or foresaw what afterwards happened, viz : — that the population of the triple city Fusṭāṭ-al-Askar-al-Qatai would gradually move to the immediate vicinity of the Imperial stronghold and, eventually, on the extinction of the dynasty by Saladin in 567 (1171), would overflow into the enclosure and erect mosques and secular buildings on the site of its rapidly decaying pavilions. Until then no person was allowed to enter the walls of al-Qahira but the soldiers of the garrison and the highest officials of the State [1].

As for its site, Maqrīzī says [2] that Gōhar wished it to become a fortress placed between the Qarmathians and the town of Miṣr, so as to protect the approaches to the latter.

Under a dynasty like the Fāṭimids, who stood for mysticism, such an important operation as the foundation of a city could not be undertaken without the assistance of astrologers [3]. Gōhar, therefore, had them summoned and told them to choose a propitious moment for the foundation of the town, so that the Fāṭimid dynasty would never be dispossessed of it. All along the line of trenches, dug to receive the foundations of the walls, were fixed posts, connected by cords on which where hung bells, so that when the exact moment arrived the astrologers could send a signal down the line. They told the workmen to stand by, ready to throw into the trenches the stones and mortar which were placed within their reach, but before the right moment arrived, a crow alighted on the cord, the bells tinkled and the workmen, thinking that the signal had been given by the astrologers, set to work. At this moment the planet Mars

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[1] *Op. cit., J. R. A. S.*, 1882, pp. 230-231. He adds that both Ibn Khallikān and Abu'l Maḥāsin ibn Taghrī Bardī refer to Gōhar's foundation as *al-Qaṣr*.

[2] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 361, l. 3 (transl., IV, p. 42); and Kay, *ibid.*, p. 230).

[3] The same idea prevailed at the foundation of Baghdād, the first brick being placed in position on a day and at an hour which had been fixed beforehand by the astrologer Naubakht (al-Khaṭīb, Salmon's text, p. 1; transl., p. 76 and Ya'qūbi, p. 238, l. 15, who says that he was assisted by the Jewish astrologer Māshā Allāh ibn Sarīya); and at the foundation of Dīn Panāh, one of the Seven Cities of Dehli, by Humāyūn, «In the middle of the sacred Muḥarram 940 (August 1533) at an hour which was prescribed by the most clever astrologers and the greatest astronomers», Humāyūn put a brick on the earth and then all his court did the same, and on the same date work was commenced on the palace; see Carr Stephen, *Archaeology of Delhi*, p. 185.

was in the ascendant; this planet was for them Qāhir al-Falak, the Ruler of the Sky, and this they considered an evil omen[1]. It would appear from the somewhat disjointed account of Maqrīzī[2] that the new city was first named al-Manṣūrīya, evidently after the palace-city founded outside Qairawān by the third Fāṭimid Khalif, al-Manṣūr billah, and that it was only when al-Muʿizz came to Egypt four years later and, from his own

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[1] Maqrīzī, I, p. 377, l. 19 ff.

[2] *Khiṭaṭ,* I, p. 377 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 81-82); Anon. Gotha M.S., transl. by Reitemeyer, *Beschreibung Ägyptens,* p. 189; Ravaisse, *Essai, loc. cit.,* I, p. 420. Many examples of the complete lack of system in Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* might be given, even if one confined oneself to his account of the Fāṭimids. In this he describes twice over the flight of Saʿīd (later ʿUbaydallāh) to Egypt and Morocco and his arrest and imprisonment at Sigilmāsa, then he gives the history of each of the Fāṭimid Khalifs from al-Mahdī to the extinction of the dynasty by Saladin. After this he comes back and describes the site chosen for Cairo, the extent of that city, and then the victorious arrival of Gōhar and the foundation of the city, together with a certain amount of information about the Fāṭimid Palace. He then relates its fate under the Ayyūbids, after which comes a chapter full of extracts and verses collected from many authors. He then describes the main arteries of medieval Cairo as they were in his day, and finally takes us right back to the building of its first wall by Gōhar and the story about the astrologers.

We have another instance of this method in his account of the enclosure of Saladin. He first describes the works executed by him in 566 H. (I, p. 379), apparently getting his date from Ibn Abi Ṭay, and in his second volume, coming back to the subject, gives a quotation from Imād ad-Dīn which refers to the more ambitious scheme commenced by Saladin in 572 H. (II, p. 233, l. 22). It is obvions that he does not realise that these two accounts refer to two distinct phases of Saladin's work; the insight of Casanova (*Citadelle, M. M. A. F. C.,* VI, pp. 535-538), however, has made this clear, and my own archæological examination of the walls has confirmed it; see my *Archæological Researches at the Citadel of Cairo, B. I. F. A. O.,* XXIII.

This complete lack of method observable in Maqrīzi, is of course chiefly due to his «Scissors and paste» method of compilation, the works of many authors being drawn upon but not digested. Nevertheless as many (three-quarters according to Guest) of these works no longer exist, Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* derives enormous value from this fact, and, in spite of the above criticism, it is easy to admit with Guest that «the diligence and learning of the writer of *El Khiṭaṭ* cannot but command admiration. He has accumulated and reduced to a certain amount of order a large quantity of information that would but for him have passed into oblivion»; *A list of Writers, Books and other Authorities mentioned by El Maqrīzī* in this *Khiṭaṭ; J. R. A. S.,* 1902, p. 106.

reading of the horoscope, saw a good omen in this fact, that the name of al-Qāhira — «the Subjugator» or «the Triumphant» — was given to the town. Maqrīzī says that they made the walls of brick and called the town al-Manṣūrīya until al-Muʿizz, on his arrival four years later (7 Ramaḍān 362 = 11th June 973)[1], changed its name to al-Qāhira, although, about seven lines later, he tells the story of the astrologers in such a way that one might think the name of al-Qāhira had been given to it there and then. It is Ravaisse[2] who has made this last point clear, a point that Lane-Poole appears to have missed[3]. Becker, in his article on Cairo in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (I, p. 821) adopts Ravaisse's view.

The story about the astrologer and the crow is so clear and circumstantial that none of the writers who have discussed the foundation of Cairo have thought of doubting its authenticity[4]. It appears to have escaped their notice that a nearly similar story is told by Masʿūdī (A. D. 943) in his obviously legendary account of the founding of Alexandria by Alexander the Great. He says that the workmen, by order of Alexander, placed themselves along the lines marked out for the new town. Stakes were fixed in the ground at intervals along these lines, and a cord was attached to them, one end of which was fixed to a marble pillar in front of the King's tent. Bells were attached to the cord and the workmen waited for a signal to be given, on hearing which they were all at the same moment to stark work on the foundations. Alexander hoped by this means to ensure that a fortunate hour and horoscope should

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[1] Ibn Hammād, p. 44, transl., p. 68; and Ibn al-ʿAdhārī, I, p. 237; transl., I, p. 333. Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 277, ll. 18-19) says 5th or 7th Ramaḍān.

[2] *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, p. 420, n. 2.

[3] *History of Egypt*, p. 103.

[4] E.g. Vansleb, *Nouvelle relation*, pp. 117-19; Granger, *Relation du Voyage*, 2e éd., pp. 136-8; Fourmont, *Description des plaines d'Héliopolis et de Memphis*, pp. 19-21; Marcel, *Égypte*, p. 100; Curzon (R), *Visits to Monasteries of the Levant*, pp. 24-5; Mrs. Poole, *Englishwoman in Egypt*, p. 135; Charmes, *Cinq mois au Caire*, pp. 55-6; Vaujany, *Le Caire*, pp. 98-100; Abbatte, *B. I. É.*, 3e série, no. 1, p. 17; Lane-Poole, *Cairo Fifty Years Ago*, pp. 24-5; his *History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, p. 105; and his *Cairo* (*in the Mediæval Towns Series*) pp. 118-19; Becker's, art. *Cairo* in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, I, p. 821; Todd, *Banks of the Nile*, pp. 55-56; and O'Leary, *Short History of the Fāṭimid Khalifate*, p. 102.

prevail at the foundation of the town. But alas! when the day and moment chosen had arrived, his head felt heavy and he slept, and a crow at a chance moment alighted on the line, set the bells ringing, and the workmen set to work. Alexander awoke and, when he realised what had happened, said «I had wished one thing, but God wished otherwise»[1].

Thus it would appear that the story related by Maqrīzī had been in circulation twenty six years before the foundation of Cairo, the town to which he applies it. This puts the matter in quite a new light; Maqrīzī's account can no longer be accepted without great reserve, in fact, I consider that the foregoing fully entitles us to regard it as a legend.

The walls and gates. — The outline of the enclosure of Gōhar can be traced throughout the greater part of its circuit with considerable accuracy, thanks to the information given by Maqrīzī, except that part between the Bāb an-Naṣr and Bāb al-Barqīya for which we have no details. Owing to the fact that the preliminary work was done at night in great haste, it was observed on the following morning that there were irregularities in the lay-out of the palace, the lines not being straight[2]. No doubt this was the case with the city walls also. Nevertheless it formed a fairly regular square, oriented approximately to the four cardinal points. The south side faced Fusṭāṭ, the west ran along the canal, the east faced the Muqaṭṭam, and the north the open country.

There were seven gates, as follows: — in the south wall the double arched Bāb Zuwayla[3]; in the west wall the Bāb al-Farag and the Bāb

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[1] Mas'ūdī, *Prairies*, II, pp. 423-5.

[2] Ibn Duqmāq, V, p. 36, l. 18; Qalqashandī, p. 349; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 68; and Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 361; l. 28; (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 42). See also Ravaisse, *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, pp. 420-21, and III, p. 112.

[3] Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 380, ll. 25-9 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 89) says «this gate, when the Qa'id Gōhar founded Cairo, consisted of two doors, side by side, near the *masgid* known under the name of Sām, son of Nūḥ. It was by one of these that al-Mu'izz entered when he came to Cairo, and it was this one which was next the mosque, of which there remains to-day a vault, whence the name of *Bāb al-Qūs* (Gate of the Arch) given to it. It was preferred by the public; they entered and left by it, while the other gate was not used; it was a common saying that whoever

Sā'ada; on the north the Bāb al-Futūḥ and the Bāb an-Naṣr; and on the east the Bāb Barqīya and the Bāb al-Qarrāṭīn (later re-named Bāb al-Maḥrūq). None of these gates exists to-day, but the site of many of them can be fixed with great accuracy, as Ravaisse and Casanova have shown.

The first Bāb Zuwayla. — The site of the first Bāb Zuwayla is fixed by the statement of Qalqashandī and Maqrīzī that a fragment of it, which still existed in his day, was near the Mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ. If one enters by the present Bāb Zuwayla and walks on, leaving the Mosque of al-Muayyad on the left, one comes almost immediately to a late Turkish sebīl (called the Aqqadīn School on the 1/5000 map of the Survey). At the corner nearest the Bāb Zuwayla is a little door leading to the Mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ, which gives us our fixed point[1].

The Bāb al-Farag. — The site of the Bāb al-Farag is not so clearly indicated, but Casanova[2] has collected all the passages in Maqrīzī relating to it, as follows : —

(1) «There were in the west side of Cairo, that is to say the side which faces the Grand Canal, two gates; one, the Bāb as-Sa'āda, the other, Bāb al-Farag»[3]. Other passages also place this gate in the west side[4].

(2) «The *rab'* of the sultan outside the Bāb Zuwayla between the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bāb al-Farag. This region is known to-day under this

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passed through the other never succeeded in any affair. This gate (i. e. the unlucky one) has disappeared without leaving any trace». A similar account is given by Qalqashandī, p. 353; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 69. The Bāb Zuwayla took its name from a tribe who occupied a suburb of al-Mahdīya. This tribe had provided a contingent to Gōhar's army and, on the foundation of the city, had been allotted a quarter near this gate.

[1] See Ravaisse, *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, pp. 421, n. 3, and 440-441. He says that it is also known as the Mosque of Ibn al-Banā, and that it was formerly a synagogue called the Synagogue of Sām ibn Nūḥ, which the Khalif al-Ḥākim had turned into a mosque. The present building, however, is modern.

[2] *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 526-7.

[3] I, p. 362, l. 8.

[4] I, p. 364, l. 11; I, p. 380, l. 23; II, p. 24, l. 3.

name : they call it *Taḥt ar-Rab*ʿ. . . . . »[1]. *Taḥt ar-Rab*ʿ still exists.

(3) «In the middle of Gumāda II, 818 they commenced to destroy the stone wall between the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bāb al-Farag»[2].

Casanova adds that a street — *Sikket el-Cheykh Farag* — which may well be a souvenir of this gate, is shown on Napoleon's map of 1798, at the side of Sharia Taḥt ar-Rabʿ near the Khalīg.

I therefore conclude that it was at the south end of the west side, and not at the west end of the south side, as Casanova places it on his map (see his pl. II), contrary to the express statement of Maqrīzī, four times repeated, that it was in the west side.

We must now try to fix the site of this angle of the wall. If we draw an imaginary line westwards from the Mosque of Sām ibn Nūḥ, we have, just south of it, a street the west part of which is called Sikket an-Nabawīya and the east part Sharia al-Ashrāqīya. To the north of this imaginary line we have innumerable little streets, each of which ends in a *cul-de-sac*, instead of opening into the Sikket an-Nabawīya. Why do all these twisted alleys stop dead in this way? I suggest that they all stopped short at the wall of Gōhar, which ran just south of them, and that the street plan has survived to this day. We have another instance of a similar thing in the fact that there is not a single opening on the north side of the Sharia Taḥt ar-Rabʿ, which we know ran along outside the south wall of Badr al-Gamālī, although this wall was removed by al-Muayyad 500 years ago. If my suggestion is correct, the south wall must have joined the west wall on the site of the present Egyptian Court of Appeal, and it is therefore here that I place the Bāb al-Farag.

The Bāb as-Saʿāda. — Ravaisse[3] puts both the Bāb al-Fārag and Bāb as-Saʿāda on the west side, put places the latter nearest the south-west angle of the city. As Maqrīzī speaks of the *rab*ʿ of the Sultan outside the Bāb Zuwayla between the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bāb al-Farag», it surely follows that these two gates were neighbours, and that the Bāb as-Saʿāda was beyond, i. e. further north than, the Bāb al-Farag.

The Bāb as-Saʿāda is placed close to the south end of the west wall by

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[1] I, p. 379, l. 32. — [2] I, p. 379, l. 32. — [3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 421 and pl. 2.

Casanova, because of the passage in Maqrīzī[1] according to which it took its name from Saʿādat ibn Ḥayyān, who came from Morocco after Gōhar had built Cairo, and installed himself at Gīza. Gōhar went to meet him, whereupon he struck camp and entered Cairo by this gate in Ragab 360 (May 971), Casanova[2] concludes that he must have crossed to Fusṭāṭ by the Bridge of Boats and marched on Cairo from the south, and as he entered by the Bāb Saʿāda, which we know was in the west side, he concludes that it must have been very near the south end of that side. If Saʿādat ibn Ḥayyān had been intent on entering Cairo by the first gate he came to, this argument might have weight, but as we have seen that he must have refrained from entering by the Bāb al-Farag, the first gate he would come to, this cannot have been the case. He evidently chose the Bāb Saʿāda as being the most convenient route of access to the palace or other buildings to which duty called him. A street called Darb Saʿāda preserves the memory of this gate, but as this street runs parallel to the Khalīg from Bāb al-Khalq to the Mosque of Sultan Gaqmāq, it is possible that the Bāb Saʿāda stood as far north as the latter.

The first Bāb al-Futūḥ. — Maqrīzī says[3] that, of the first Bāb al-Futūḥ, there still existed in his day a fragment of the vault and the left pier, together with some lines of Kufic inscription, and that this fragment was at the head of the Ḥāret Bahā ad-Dīn to the south, beneath the wall of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim. This mosque was commenced in Ramaḍān 380 (November/December, 990) and was outside the walls of that day, so the first Bāb al-Futūḥ must have stood quite near its western corner.

The first Bāb an-Naṣr. — The first Bāb an-Naṣr likewise occupied a site well within that of the present one. Maqrīzī[4] speaks of having seen a fragment of one side of it opposite the west corner of the Madrasat al-Qāṣid, where there was a *raḥaba* (open square) which separated this madrasa from the two southern doors of the Mosque of al-Ḥakim. This

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[1] *Op. cit.*, I, p. 383, l. 4; and Casanova's transl., IV, p. 95.

[2] *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 526-7.

[3] I, p. 363, l. 2 and p. 381, l. 28-30 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 43 and 92, also in van Berchem, *Notes*, p. 58).

[4] I, p. 361, l. 38 and p. 381, l. 20-21 (Casanova's transl., IV, pp. 43 and 91).

madrasa no longer exists, but a *Mosquée du Cheikh Kased* appears on Napoleon's plan of 1798. I therefore place it near the southern corner of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, and astride the Sharia Bāb an-Naṣr, as it seems probable that the alignment of this street has not altered [1].

The Bāb al-Barqīya. — The site of the Bāb al-Barqīya is extremely difficult to fix, for Maqrīzī's chapter on the Gates of Cairo stops short after the heading « Bāb al-Barqīya ». Casanova adds that this paragraph remains blank in all the Paris MSS. of Maqrīzī that he has consulted, and that in some of them even the heading Bāb al-Barqīya is lacking [2]. No gate of this name exists to-day; it is even absent from the map of 1798. Nor do we know in any precise manner the position of the northern part of the eastern wall.

The Bāb al-Qarrātīn. — The site of the Bāb al-Qarrātīn may be fixed with comparative accuracy, as the site of the gate which replaced it is still known, under the name Bāb al-Maḥrūq or « Burnt Gate ». This name was given to it owing to the action of a party of 700 Mamlūks who fled from Cairo on learning of the execution of the Emīr Aqtaī on 21st Shaʿbān 652 (6th October 1254). During the night they left their houses and proceeded towards this gate, which they found closed, it being the custom at that time to close all the gates of Cairo at night. They therefore set fire to the great door, and escaped through the breach made by the flames; henceforth this gate was known as the Bāb al-Maḥrūq [3]. As Maqrīzī tells us that there existed until 803 (1400/1) a great fragment of the brick wall of Gōhar between the Bāb al-Barqīya and the Darb Baṭūṭ, and that this wall was 50 cubits behind the wall of Saladin [4], we may place the site of the first Bāb al-Qarrātīn at that distance within the present Bāb al-Maḥrūq.

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[1] At the Bāb al-Qanṭara, for example, the alignment has remained true.

[2] See his translation, *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 97, n. 4.

[3] Maqrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, p. 383 (Casanova's transl., *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 96-97), also his *Kitāb as-Sulūq*, translated by Quatremère under the title *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*, I*a*, pp. 47-49, where the date, however, is given as 3rd Shaʿbān.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 377, l. 34 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 82-83; the translation says 550 cubits — a misprint for 50).

If we draw a line eastwards from the Mosque of Sām Ibn Nūḥ to a point immediately alongside the site indicated above for the first Bāb al-Qarrātīn, we shall probably be very nearly on the line of the wall of Gōhar, and it is interesting to note that this line can be drawn between the ends of a number of blind alleys, which stop on either side of it, just as we found when we drew a line westwards from the same mosque. It is only crossed by one zig-zag street, the Sharia Hidān al-Mōṣl, in which stands the Mosque of the Emīr Sūdūn al-Qaṣrawī.

The Bāb al-Qanṭara. — Two years after the foundation of Cairo, Gōhar added another gate, the Bāb al-Qanṭara, which took its name from the bridge (*qanṭara*) which he threw across the Grand Canal, so as to put the town in communication with the port of al-Maqs during the advance of the Qarmathians, in Shauwāl 360 (July/Aug. 971)[1]. I should add that a bridge, the Qanṭarat al-Gedīd, existed here until the Canal was filled up at the end of the xix[th] Century. It is Casanova again who has collected the passages in Maqrīzī which refer to this gate[2]. I have altered the order of them so as to improve the logical sequence and clearness of the demonstration.

(1) «The Khaṭṭ (quarter) of the Bāb al-Qanṭara was known under the name of al-Muratāḥia and al-Faraḥia[3]. This latter quarter according to Maqrīzī[4] is the same as the Sūq al-Amīr al-Guyūsh».

(2) «The Sūq al-Amīr al-Guyūsh leads to the Bāb al-Qanṭara»[5]. Abu'l-Maḥāsin tells us that the name of Amīr al-Guyūsh was changed to Margūsh[6]. We must therefore conclude that the Bāb al-Qanṭara was at the point where this street, which still exists under the latter name, crosses the Khalīg.

(3) «Close to the Bāb al-Futūḥ is a road which goes to the quarter

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(1) Maqrīzī, I, p. 382, l. 38 (Casanova's transl., IV, p. 95 and Qalqashandī, p. 354; Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 70.

(2) *Citadelle, loc. cit.*, pp. 528-9.

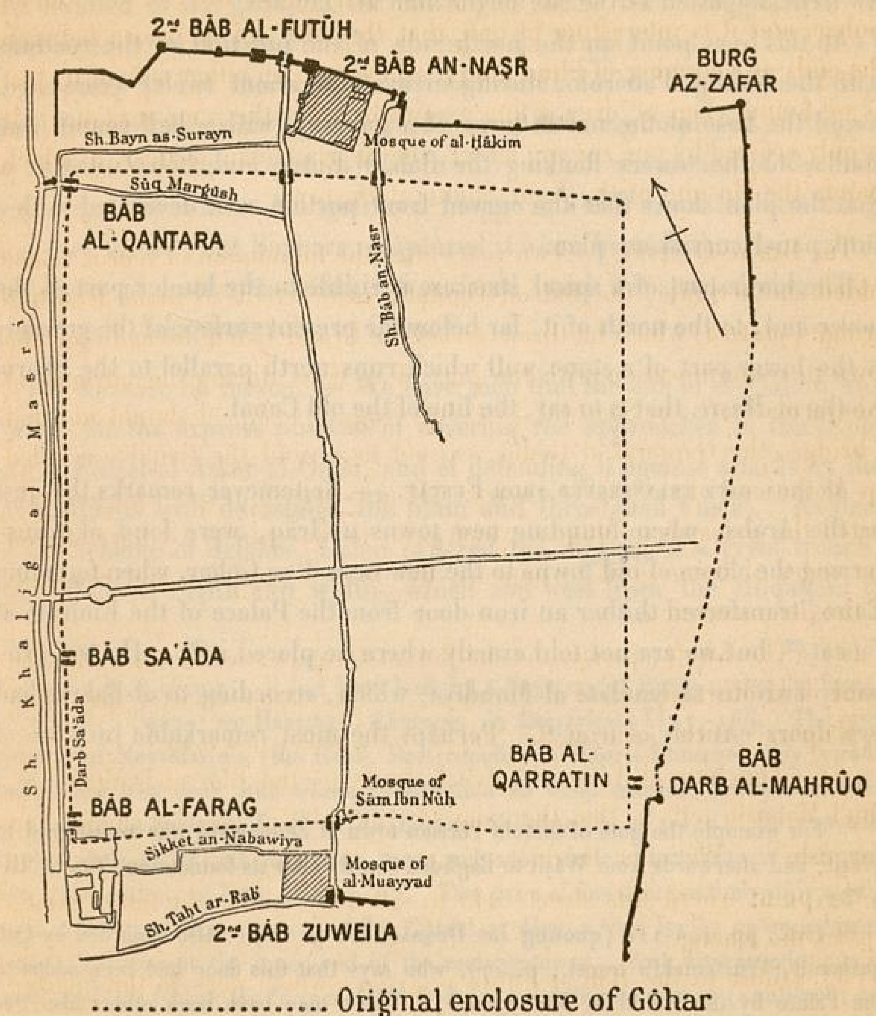
(3) II, p. 14, l. 21, and II, p. 24, l. 1.

(4) II, p. 36, l. 1.

(5) I, p. 385, l. 34.

(6) Ed. Juynboll, II, p. 420, quoted by Casanova; also Ravaisse, *op. cit.*, 2ᵉ partie p. 39, n. 2.

of Bahā ad-Dīn and the Bāb al-Qanṭara »[1]. This quarter according to Maqrīzī[2], lay between the old and the new Bāb al-Futūḥ, and therefore



The Walls and Gates of Cairo.

between the old and new enclosure. As a matter of fact a street, called Sharia Beyn as-Sureyn (« Between the two walls ») goes westwards from the south-west corner of the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, where we have placed

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[1] I, p. 376, l. 7. — [2] II, p. 2.

the first Bāb al-Futūḥ and, more remarkable still, makes a right-angled turn at its west end to join the Sūq Margūsh at the very point which we have suggested as the site of the Bāb al-Qanṭara.

At this very point on the north side of the junction of the roadway with the Khalīg, Patricolo, during excavations about twelve years ago, found the base of the north tower of a gateway, with a half round front similar to the towers flanking the Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwayla, in that the plan shows that the curved front portion was decorated with a sunk panel curved on plan.

The lower part of a spiral staircase is visible in the hinder part of the tower and, to the north of it, far below the present surface of the ground, is the lower part of a stone wall which runs north parallel to the Sharia Khalīg al-Maṣrī, that is to say, the line of the old Canal.

An iron gate transferred from Fusṭāṭ. — Reitemeyer remarks that just as the Arabs, when founding new towns in ʿIrāq, were fond of transferring the doors of old towns to the new ones [1] so Gōhar, when founding Cairo, transferred thither an iron door from the Palace of the Emīrate at Fusṭāṭ [2], but we are not told exactly where he placed it [3]. He was probably anxious to emulate al-Mahdīya, which, according to al-Bakrī, had two doors entirely of iron [4]. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of

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[1] For example the gate of the old Persian town of Zendaward was transferred to Wāṣit, and afterwards from Wāṣit to Baghdād shortly after its foundation; Ṭabarī, III, p. 321, l. 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115 (quoting Ibn Duqmāq, IV, p. 10). Also recorded by Qalqashandī (Wüstenfeld's transl., p. 57), who says that this door had been added to the Palace by the Ikshīd in 331 (942/3). There may have been others also, for Muqaddasī says that the town was fortified and had iron gates (p. 200, and Ranking's transl., in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1258, p. 328).

[3] Qalqashandī merely says it was transferred to the *Qaṣr*. Lane-Poole, speaking of the attack made by the Qarmathians in 971 A. D., says that the *Khandaq*, or great dyke, (see below) had only one entrance which was closed by an iron gate (*History of Egypt*, p. 106). As usual he does not state his authority. This may have been the same gate, transferred once more.

[4] P. 29; de Slane's transl; p. [74] 66 the *Kitāb al-Istibsar*, p. 8; Fagnan's transl., p. 14; and the Rud al-Qartās, Beaumier's transl., p. 329. Muqaddasī, when speaking of the Ribāṭ Āb-i-Shuturān, says that it was the most beautiful ribāṭ in Persia,

this practice is the following : ʿAmmūrīya (Amorium in Phrygia)[1] was captured by the Khalif al-Muʾtaṣim in 223 (838), after a siege of 55 days, and levelled to the ground, the town gate being taken to Sāmarrā[2]. After Sāmarrā was abandoned it was taken to Raqqa[3] but in 353 (964) it was sent to the Qarmathians by Saif ad-Dawla to help in satisfying their demands for iron[4]. We next hear of its being employed at Aleppo by al-Malik an-Nāṣir Yūsuf in 654 (1256) in his restoration of the Bāb Qinnasrīn. When the Mongols took Aleppo in 1258 it was the first thing that they looted, but Baybars recaptured it when he took the city, tore off the plates of iron with which it was faced, and transported them, together with the great nails, to Cairo[5].

The Khandaq or trench. — We have seen that the site of al-Qāhira was chosen for the express purpose of covering the approaches to the triple city of Fusṭāṭ-al-Askar-al-Qatai, and of defending it against attacks by the Qarmathians who devastated the plain and threatened Fusṭāṭ. As part of this scheme of defence, Gōhar ordered the digging of a great trench, ten cubits in depth and width, which ran west from the Muqaṭṭam to

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and had a door of iron. It had been built by a Governor of Sīstān under the Samānids, c. 315 (927); see Herzfeld, *Khurasan*, in *Der Islam*, XI, p. 166. The only gateway of Mayyāfarīqin (the Greek Martyropolis) in Nāṣir-i-Khusrau's day (1046) had a solid iron door, into whose construction no wood entered; Schefer's transl., p. 25; and Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 111-112. He also tells us that at Diyārbekr, there was an inner and outer circle of fortifications each with four gates entirely of iron; *ibid.*, p. 27. Two pairs of fine doors entirely of iron still exist in the great iron gateway of the Citadel at Aleppo, one in the outer entrance tower, the other at the inner end of the main gateway. Both bear inscriptions of Malik az-Ẓāhir Ghāzī; the former dated 608 (1211/2) the latter 606 (1209/10); see Van Berchem, *Inschriften aus Syrien*, pp. 39-40; and van Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, I, pp. 211-213; also mentioned by H. Cowper Swainson, *Through Turkish Arabia*, p. 91.

[1] The modern Assar Qalʿa; Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, I, p. 451 ff.

[2] *Description of Aleppo*, MS. ar. 1683 of the *Bibliothèque nationale*, extract translated by Blochet in *R. O. L.*, VI, p. 31, and the article «Amorium» in the *Encyc. of Islam*, I, p. 334.

[3] Blochet, *ibid.*, p. 237.

[4] De Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[5] Blochet, *ibid.*, p. 237-238.

Miniet al-Asbagh. It was commenced Sha'bān 360 (June 971) and very quickly finished[1]. Two attacks by the Qarmathians are recorded shortly after this, one in Rabī' I, 361 (Dec. 971) and the other in 363 (974); the dyke was crossed on the second occasion, but Cairo held out[2].

Sun-baked bricks employed for walls and gates. — Unfortunately we have not a single architectural detail on the walls and gates built by Gōhar, except the statement of Maqrīzī, quoted above, that the sun-baked bricks of the fragment seen by him near the Bab Bārqīya measured a cubit by two-thirds of a cubit. Large bricks are a characteristic of early work in Persia and Mesopotamia. Usher[3] says that the bricks composing the ancient wall at Kuyunjik (Nineveh), averaged 15 inches square by 5 thick. When speaking of the *Ateshgar* near Iṣfahān, where a wall was shewn him as all that remained of the ancient fire temple, he comments again on the great size of the bricks[4]. Ferrier saw kiln-baked bricks measuring 20 inches by 15 in the ruins of Balkh[5], and even larger ones « nearly three feet long and four inches thick » scattered about in the Citadel at Farah in Sīstān[6]. He also mentions bricks a yard square at Rūdbār and Pulkar on the Helmund[7]. Colonel C. E. Yate mentions large flat bricks « say a foot square by two to three inches thick » in a series of mounds and ruins in Sīstān, between Margān and Jalālabād on the Hāmun[8] and also in a ruined bridge of two arches called Takht-i-Pūl, near Pulgī[9]. At Gumish Teppé (Silver Hill) a mound on the

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[1] See Kay, *ibid.*, p. 230, and Ravaisse, *Essai, loc. cit.*, I, pp. 421-2, quoting Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, pp. 136-9.

[2] Quatremère, *Vie du Khalife Moëzz, loc. cit.*, III, pp. 83 and 177-180; also Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt* (2nd ed.) pp. 106 and 113; and Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

[3] *London to Persepolis*, p. 394.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 596.

[5] *Caravan Journeys*, pp. 206-7.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 393-4. He says that they bore cuneiform inscriptions, which astonished his editor, Captain W. Jesse. I do not know whether this discovery has been confirmed.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 410-1.

[8] *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 122.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.

shores of the Caspian, about twenty feet in height and full of broken bricks, he saw some averaging 14 inches square by 3 1/2 thick[1]. Colonel A. C. Yate[2] mentions four bridges, the Pūl-i-Khātūn, Maruchak, Tirpūl and Pūl-i-Khishtī (at the junction of the Khuskh and Murghab rivers) as being built of large flat kiln-baked bricks about a foot square. Euan Smith mentions kiln-baked bricks 11 inches square in the ruins of Qalaʿi-Fath in Sīstān[3], he also speaks of a reservoir at Nād ʿAlī «with enormous bricks»[4]. Lady Shiel[5] says that the rampart at Veramīn, about half a mile square and strengthened with bastions at short intervals, is constructed of unbaked bricks of large size.

Although there is no doubt as to the antiquity of the above examples, they cannot be exactly dated, nevertheless they serve to show that the use of large bricks was widely spread. We will now consider more exactly dated examples. At Ctesiphon the inner city wall is built on a foundation course of three layers of burnt bricks, stamped with the name of Nebuchadnezzar (604-561 B. C.), which had been pillaged from the ruins of Babylon. They measure from 31 to 33 cm. square and vary from 6-7 1/2 cm. in thickness. The bricks of the outer wall and the rest of the inner wall, due to Seleukos Nikator, c. 300 B. C., are about 36 cm. square and 13 cm. thick[6]. The bricks used for the great Īwan of Ctesiphon, which Herzfeld has shown to be the work of Shapūr I (A. D. 241-272), measure 30-32 cm. square and 8-9 cm. thick[7]. At Tell Mismai, about two hours ride away, Commander Jones found sun baked bricks 14 inches square, and large kiln baked bricks also[8]. Near Dastagird

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[1] *Khurasan and Sistan*, pp. 272-3.

[2] *Afghan Boundary Commission*, pp. 149 and 189.

[3] *Eastern Persia*, I, p. 293.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, p. 299.

[5] *Glimpses of Life and Manners in Persia*, p. 187.

[6] Sarre and Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, II, pp. 53-55. — The excavations of Andreae and Koldewey have shown that the bricks used in Assyria and Babylonia from the earliest times were always large. For details see Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 110, n. 2 (quoting W. Andreae, *Festungswerke von Assur*, p. 14; *Anu- und Adad-Tempel*, p. 3; and Koldewey, *Tempel von Babylon*).

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76 and 62.

[8] *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, N. S., Vol. XLIII, p. 81.

Herzfeld found a town wall with bricks 42 cm. square and 13 1/3 cm.[1] thick.

The walls of the round city of Baghdād, founded by al-Manṣūr in 145 (762), were built with sun-dried bricks, some of which were square, measuring a cubit each way and weighing 200 ratls; others were a cubit long but only half a cubit wide[2]. The enclosing wall of the Mosque at Raqqa c. 154 (770) is built of mud bricks 43 cm. square and 11 cm. thick[3]. The latest example known to me occurs at Shurgaz, in the so-called Mīl-i-Nadiri, a minaret dating from the xi[th] or xii[th] Century A. D. The kiln-burnt bricks of which it is built measure 14×12×2 inches[4].

We may therefore assert that the enclosure of Gōhar, judging from the single architectural fact known about it, exhibited Persian influence, for the bricks hitherto used in Egypt were of quite moderate size.

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d. 1406. Ibn Duqmāq, V, pp. 35-6.
c. 1412. Qalqashandī, pp. 348-63; Wüstenfeld's transl., pp. 66-77.
1427... Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, pp. 361-77.

[1] *Iransche Felsreliefs*, p. 237. Between each course was a layer of reed matting.

[2] Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, p. 19, and Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 108, n° 3.

[3] Sarre-Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, II, p. 359-361.

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THE INTELLECTUALIST (ENGLISH) INTERPRETATION OF MAGIC[1]

BY

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

All scientific theory is eclectic for a scientist takes the hypotheses of his predecessors and examines them by logical tests and checks them by observation. By these means he selects what he finds to be valid in each hypothesis and works them into a coordinated system. He adds his own observations and inferences and these in turn serve as hypotheses till they are verified by independent workers and are recognised as true by the consensus of specialised opinion. I have worked for several years on the subject of magic both by reading and by repeated observation of magical operations among savage peoples in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and have therefore had occasion to acquaint myself with most theories of magic and to test them by direct observation.

Writers about magic may be roughly divided into three schools of interpretation, the Intellectualist, the Emotionalist, and the Sociological[2], though we might include a fourth, the Historical. The constructions of these schools overlap and some writers find themselves in all three but a division of this kind enables me more easily to define the main viewpoints from which the subject of magic has been treated and to select the problems which we have to investigate. I propose in this paper to make a digest, analysis, and criticism, of what we may call the Intellectualist school of interpretation in England, chiefly represented by Tylor and Frazer.

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[1] This paper embodies the first part of a course of lectures on «Magic, Religion, and Science» at the Egyptian University (Faculty of Letters) in 1932-3.

[2] P. W. Schmidt treats the subject under three headings in his *Origine et Evolution de la Religion,* translated from the German. Paris, 1931.

Tylor and Frazer approached the problems of magic from an intellectualist standpoint. They considered that primitive man had reached his conclusions about the efficacy of magic from rational observation and deduction in much the same way as men of science reach their conclusions about natural laws. Underlying all magical ritual is a rational process of thought. The ritual of magic follows from its ideology. It is true that the deductions of a magician are false — had they been true they would have been scientific and not magical — but they are nevertheless based on genuine observation. For classification of phenomena by the similarities which exist between them is the procedure of science as well as of magic and is the first essential process of human knowledge. Where the magician goes wrong is in infering that because two things are alike in one or more respects they have a mystical link between them whereas in fact the link is not a real link but an ideal connexion in the mind of the magician. A Greek peasant is quite right in classing jaundice and gold together in virtue of their common attribute of colour but he is in error in deducing from this common attribute that they can react on each other. The African peasant is quite right in seeing a connexion between rain falling and water which he has thrown up into the air falling but he is wrong in considering that on account of the similarity between the two processes there is a causal relationship between them. A causal relationship exists in his mind but not in nature. It is a subjective and not an objective connexion. Hence the savage mistakes an ideal analogy for a real connexion.

Tylor surveyed the facts of magic as a logician. Magic was to him «One of the most pernicious delusions that ever vexed mankind»[1] but at the same time he saw that it contained a logical scheme of thought which can be well understood by civilised men of the twentieth century.

«The principal key to the understanding of Occult Science is to consider it as based on the Association of Ideas, a faculty which lies at the very foundation of human reason, but in no small degree of human unreason also. Man, as yet in a low intellectual condition, having come

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[1] Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* 3rd. ed. 1891, vol. I, p. 112.

to associate in thought those things which he found by experience to be connected in fact, proceeded erroneously to invert this action, and to conclude that association in thought must involve similar connexion in reality. He thus attempted to discover, to foretell, and to cause events by means of processes which we can now see to have only an ideal significance »[1].

Nevertheless Tylor pointed out that this ideal or subjective association of phenomena is not haphazard but rests on a rational appreciation of the similarities which exist between phenomena, an appreciation which takes the form of analogy or symbolism. Hence we can generally see at once wherein the analogy of magical symbolism lies, in what consists the symbolic principle of magic, as Tylor calls it.

« Fanciful as these notions are, it should be borne in mind that they come fairly under definite mental law, depending as they do on a principle of ideal association, of which we can quite understand the mental action, though we deny its practical results »[2].

However, not all symbolism is of this direct and obvious kind but some of it embodies associations which have been arbitrarily invented to fill in gaps in the magical system and never had any rational sense or of which the rational sense has been forgotten.

Tylor thus implicitly, for he does not explicitly discuss the question, recognises that the difference between magic and science is the difference between a false association of phenomena in which the link is of a subjective, symbolic, and ideal, nature, on the one hand, and an association of phenomena in which the link is of an objective, and real nature, on the other hand. In the same way he does not attempt to make a clear theoretical distinction between magic and religion but is content to claim « as a minimum definition of Religion, the belief in Spiritual Beings[3] », and to leave the rest of the supernatural to magic.

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[1] Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, pp. 115-116. The same type of explanation is given in his earlier work *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, 1870, p. 129.

[2] *Id.*, p. 119.

[3] *Id.*, p. 424.

It is evident from Tylor's treatment of the subject that he realised that the province of magic and religion, thus loosely defined, must continually overlap since there is often a notion of animism in the *materia medica* of magical rites. That he believed the terms were best employed without too great rigidity is shown by his statement that whilst dreams are more properly treated under the heading of religion since they are attributed to spiritual intercourse nevertheless the art of oneiromancy, the art of taking omens from dreams by analogical interpretation, (e.g. the dreams of Joseph), may be treated under the heading of magic.

Tylor's theory of animism, the substratum of all religious experience, is typical of his intellectualist bias in examining the beliefs of primitive man and may be compared with his discussion of magic when it will be clearer from an analysis of his treatment of religion how he came to reach his conclusions about magic than if we read his views on magic alone. Tylor was of the opinion that mankind came to believe in the human soul and, by extension, in the souls of animals and plants and even of objects which we call inanimate objects, through an effort to account rationally for such phenomena as life and death, waking and sleeping, disease and trance, dreams and visions [1].

His treatment of religious facts throughout thus follows the same method of rationalistic interpretation as his treatment of magical facts. This is well illustrated when he asks how it is that mankind has for so long placed implicit faith in « the whole monstrous farrago » of symbolic magic in which there is no truth whatever. Explaining the logic of magic, as Tylor does, by interpreting it as a rational, if mistaken, inference from natural phenomena, he feels the need to account in a similar manner for the fact that primitive man did not perceive its falsehood. He explains what appears to us as unaccountable density of intelligence on the grounds that magic is not obviously futile since (1) the arts of magic are associated often with common sense behaviour; the cunning and knowledge of the magician achieving what his ritual fails to achieve : (2) it is difficult to perceive the fallacy of the magic art when what it sets out to acheive so often follows its practice; nature performing what

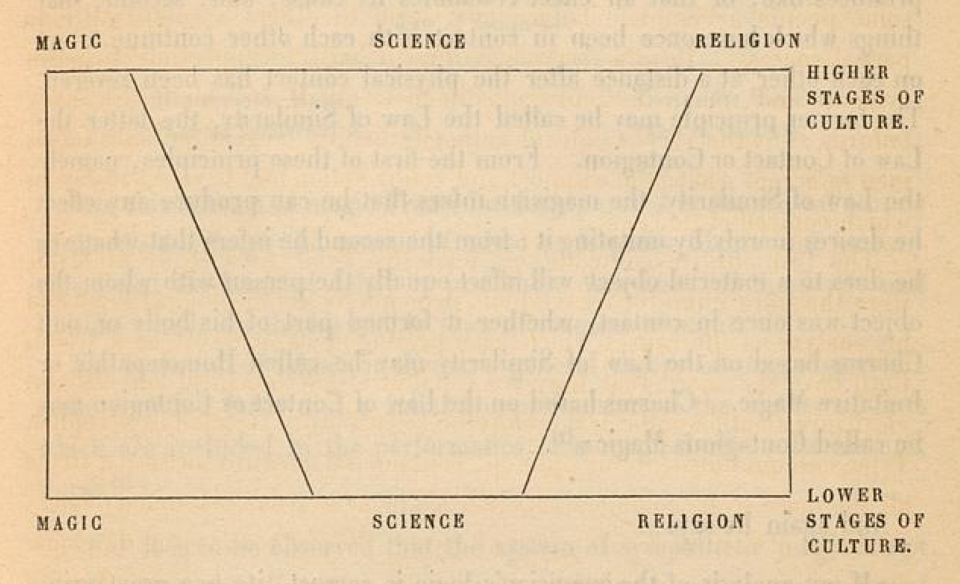
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[1] *Id.*, p. 428.

the magic appears to perform : (3) when a magic rite fails, its failure is not attributed to the futility of the rite, but to neglect of one of the prescriptions or prohibitions which accompany its performance : (4) there are always hostile forces at work which may counteract a magic rite, rival practitioners in particular furnishing a useful excuse for failure : (5) the plasticity of such notions as success and failure allow that what seems to some people a complete failure may seem to others a comparative or partial success. People everywhere find it hard to appreciate negative evidence and one success outweighs in their minds and memories many failures : (6) the very weight of authority behind magical practice forces men to accept what adds support and confirmation and to reject instances which contradict its claims.

The two positive contributions made by Tylor to a study of magic were the unravelling of its symbolic principle or its idealogical logic and his analysis of the causes which have prevented its exposure as a fraud. Both have the merit that they are capable of psychological and sociological investigation and can therefore be scientifically rejected or accepted. Tylor's account also, in my opinion, contained a negative virtue, a virtue all the more to be commended when his bias towards evolutionary interpretation of culture is taken into account. Whilst tracing the developement of magical and animistic ideas both in the known chronology of history and in the logical stratification of cultural types he made no attempt to build out of his facts a hierarchy of historic stages of magic, religion, and science, an error into which Frazer was to fall. Tylor contented himself with demonstrating beyond doubt that whether we consider those cultures whose history we know and compare the earlier forms of their cultures with the later forms of their developement, or if we compare the more primitive societies in the world today with the more advanced societies, we shall find the same broad statement to hold true, that everywhere there is magic and religion and science but that in the later stages of developement or in the more advanced societies magical and animistic ideas play a lesser part in the thought and behaviour of men than in the earlier stages of developement or in the more primitive societies. In modern civilisation they tend to become idealised or to survive as superstition, though a tinge of pessimism suffuses Tylor's thought when he considers the human psyche and its limitations and

makes him conscious that nothing survives which does not spring from deep-lying mental causes whose operation continues always and may at any moment change what appears to be a languishing survival into a flourishing revival. We may, perhaps, therefore, present Tylor's scheme of developement in a simple diagrammatic form, as we may imagine he would have presented it himself.



Frazer added little that was new to Tylor's brief survey of magic but he expanded the salient points of the survey and made a deeper analysis of their meaning. Arguments implicit in Tylor's account are developed as explicit theses, illustrated by a lavish catalogue of examples, by Frazer. But if Frazer has built substantially on the foundations laid by Tylor he has also fallen into some pits which his cautious predecessor avoided. We will discuss his contribution under five headings (1) his analysis of the logic of magic, (2) his theory of the relationship of magic to science, (3) his theory of the relationship of magic to religion, (4) his chronological scheme of developement of magic to religion and from religion to science, (5) his observations on the part played by magic in political developement.

(1) Whilst Tylor showed that there is a false association of ideas underlying the ideology of magic he did not then proceed to classify into

types the analogies upon which it is based. This task Frazer has accomplished in his *Golden Bough* which rightly ranks among the great acheivements of English literature and scholarship. He writes :

« If we analyse the principles of thought on which magic is based, they will probably be found to resolve themselves into two : first that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the Law of Similarity, the latter the Law of Contact or Contagion. From the first of these principles, namely the Law of Similarity, the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it : from the second he infers that whatever he does to a material object will affect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not. Charms based on the Law of Similarity may be called Homœpathic or Imitative Magic. Charms based on the Law of Contact or Contagion may be called Contagious Magic »[1].

And again he says :

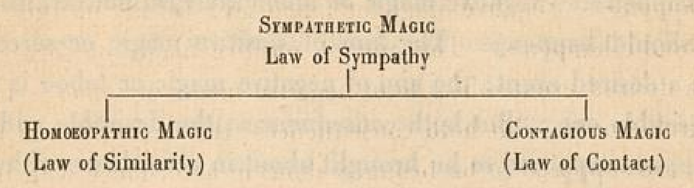
« If my analysis of the magician's logic is correct, its two great principles turn out to be merely two different misapplications of the association of ideas. Homoeopathic Magic is founded on the association of ideas by similarity. Contagious Magic is founded on the association of ideas by contiguity. Homoeopathic magic makes the mistake of assuming that things which resemble each other are the same : contagious magic commits the mistake of assuming that things which have once been in contact with each other are always in contact »[2].

In other words we may say that to an European observer all acts of magic rest upon one or other, or both, of two simple modes of classifying phenomena, by the similarities which exist between them and by their contiguous position in relation to each other. This is a scientific, object-

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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 52.
[2] *Id.*, pp. 53-54.

ive, mode of classification but the ideas of objects which are similar or contiguous are linked in the savage mind by a notion that there is real connexion between them. Hence it is thought they have a sympathetic relationship between them and can act on each other. So Frazer classes the two types of association under a single heading[1] :



Into this scheme of magic Frazer has incorporated in the second edition of the *Golden Bough* the notion of taboo as Negative Magic and he considers that the basis of taboo is just those two Laws of Similarity and Contact which are the invariable laws of magical thought.

The inclusion of taboos in Frazer's general theory of magic gave it a more rounded form and a fuller comprehension of the cluster of facts which are included in the performance of a magical rite. In his own words[2] :

«For it is to be observed that the system of sympathetic magic is not merely composed of positive precepts; it comprises a very large number of negative precepts, that is, prohibitions. It tells you not merely what to do, but also what to leave undone. The positive precepts are charms : the negative precepts are taboos. In fact the whole doctrine of taboo, or at all events a large part of it, would seem to be only a special application of sympathetic magic, with its two great laws of similarity and contact. Though these laws are certainly not formulated in so many words nor even conceived in the abstract by the savage, they are nevertheless implicitly believed by him to regulate the course of nature quite independently of human will. He thinks that when he acts in a certain way, certain consequences will inevitably follow in virtue of one or other of these laws; and if the consequences of a particular act appear to him likely to prove disagreeable or dangerous, he is naturally careful not to

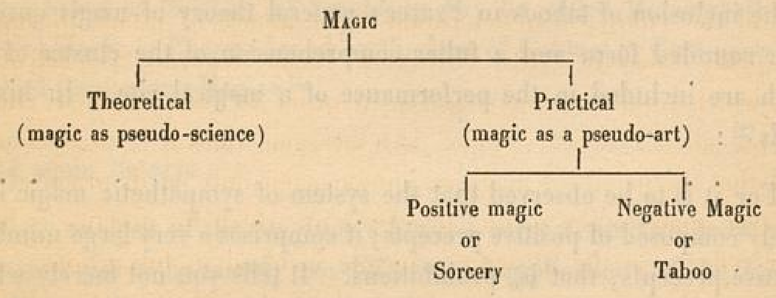
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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 54.

[2] *Id.*, pp. 111-112.

act in that way lest he should incur them. In other words, he abstains from doing that which, in accordance with his mistaken notions of cause and effect, he falsely believes would injure him; in short, he subjects himself to a taboo. Thus taboo is so far a negative application of practical magic. Positive magic or sorcery say «Do this in order that so and so may happen». Negative magic or taboo say «Do not do this, lest so and so should happen». The aim of positive magic or sorcery is to produce a desired event; the aim of negative magic or taboo is to avoid an undesirable one. But both consequences, the desirable and the undesirable, are supposed to be brought about in accordance with the laws of similarity and contact».

Thus with the inclusion of taboo in his analysis of magic Frazer presents his conception of the theory and practice of magic in the following diagram :



When Frazer asks himself why the beliefs and experiments of magic are not at once detected as fraud by the sensible savage he answers by giving one of the several reasons ennumerated by Tylor to account for such supineness, namely that the end aimed at in a magical rite is actually attained sooner or later by processes of nature. Hence the very failure by primitive man to detect the fallacies of magic is a tribute to his rational and enquiring mind which is able to observe that magic rites and such happenings as rain falling, wind blowing, sun rising, man dying, have a temporal sequence which may fairly be considered a causal sequence. Hence the primitive philosopher may point to the evidence of his senses as proving to any intelligent man that magic is a sensible belief. Moreover it is part of Frazer's argument that the more intelligent minds did at last perceive the futility of magic.

(2) The analogy between the basic ideas of magic and those of science which we find merely sketched by Tylor is presented to us as a finished picture by Frazer. To him magic represents a Weltanschauung in every way comparable to the Weltanschauung of science. Both view nature as «a series of events occurring in an invariable order without the intervention of personal agency»[1]. In a well known passage Frazer has stated his theory of the intellectual kinship of magic to science[2].

«For the same principles which the magician applies in the practice of his art are implicitly believed by him to regulate the operations of inanimate nature; in other words, he tacitly assumes that the Laws of Similarity and Contact are of universal application and are not limited to human actions. In short, magic is a spurious system of natural law as well as a fallacious guide of conduct; it is a false science as well as an abortive art. Regarded as a system of natural law, that is, as statement of the rules which determine the sequence of events throughout the world, it may be called Theoretical Magic; regarded as a set of precepts which human beings observe in order to compass their ends, it may be called Practical Magic. At the same time it is to be born in mind that the primitive magician knows magic only on its practical side; he never analyses the mental processes on which his practice is based, never reflects on the abstract principle involved in his actions. With him, as with the vast majority of men, logic is implicit, not explicit; he reasons just as he digests his food in complete ignorance of the intellectual and physiological processes which are essential to the one operation and to the other. In short, to him magic is always an art, never a science; the very idea of science is lacking in his undeveloped mind. It is for the philosophic student to trace the train of thought which underlies the magician's practice; to draw out the few simple threads of which the tangled skein is composed; to disengage the abstract principles from their concrete applications; in short, to discern the spurious science behind the bastard art.

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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 51.
[2] *Id.,* pp. 52-53.

And again :

« Wherever sympathetic magic occurs in its pure unadulterated form, it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency. Thus its fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science; underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit but real and firm, in the order and uniformity of nature. The magician does not doubt that the same causes will always produce the same effects, that the performance of the proper ceremony, accompanied by the appropriate spell, will inevitably be attended by the desired results, unless, indeed, his incantations should chance to be thwarted and foiled by the more potent charms of another sorcerer. He supplicates no higher power : he sues the favour of no fickle and wayward being : he abases himself before no awful deity [1].

Magic assumes « a sequence of events determined by law » [2]. Science differs from magic not in its assumptions and approach to reality but in the validity of its concepts and the efficacy of its art.

(3) Frazer's distinction between magic and science by the test of objective validity clearly will not hold as a means of differentiating magic from religion, between which Frazer saw « a fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle » [3]. Magic is to him something different in kind to religion and not merely the earliest phase in the developement of its thought. He differentiates between them in much the same manner as Tylor. Tylor considered belief in spiritual beings to constitute religion and recognised that belief invariably leads to cult. Frazer stresses the cult rather more than Tylor; otherwise their theories are identical. Religion according to Frazer is :

« A propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life. Thus defined, religion consists of two elements, a theoretical and a prac-

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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 220.

[2] *Id.,* p. 221.

[3] *Id.,* Preface, xx.

tical, namely, a belief in powers higher than man and an attempt to propitiate or please them »[1].

Hence religion assumes that nature is under the control of spirits and that these spirits can alter its course as they please. Frazer contrasts this notion of a plastic and variable nature with the notion of nature subject to immutable laws as postulated by magic and science.

« The distinction between the two conflicting views of the universe turns on their answer to the crucial question. Are the forces which govern the world conscious and personal, or unconscious and impersonal? Religion, as a conciliation of the superhuman powers, assumes the former of the alternative. For all conciliation implies that the being conciliated is a conscious or personal agent, that his conduct is in some measure uncertain, and that he can be prevailed upon to vary it in the desired direction by a judicious appeal to his interests, his appetites, or his emotions. Conciliation is never employed towards things which are regarded as inanimate, nor towards persons whose behaviour in the particular circumstances is known to be determined with absolute certainty. Thus in so far as religion assumes the world to be directed by conscious agents who may be turned from their purpose by persuasion, it stands in fundamental antagonism to magic as well as to science, both of which take for granted that the course of nature is determined, not by the passions or caprice of personal beings, but by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically. In magic, indeed, the assumption is only implicit, but in science it is explicit[2].

Frazer recognises the problem of reconciling this definition with recorded knowledge of barbaric cultures in which the gods are influenced by magic or are even themselves magicians. Are not magic and religion, as Frazer defines them, in such cases an insoluble compound of ritual and belief? From his intellectualist position Frazer says that they are not insoluble for in such cases it is easy to see whether mankind treats the gods in the same way as he treats inanimate objects, as subject to his spells which they are bound to obey through the same immutable laws

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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 222.
[2] *Id.,* p. 223.

as regulate all natural and magical causation, or whether mankind admits their absolute control over nature and tries to conciliate or propitiate them in consequence of his belief in their powers.

(4) But it is not merely in their philosophies and in their modes of attempting to control nature that magic and religion are different. They belong to different strata in the history of human developement and where we find that they have amalgamated we may regard this overlapping of one stage on to the other as being in no sense primitive and we may conclude that « there was a time when man trusted to magic alone for the satisfaction of such wants as transcended his immediate animal cravings »[1]. For this startling conclusion, borrowed from Jevons, Frazer gives us three reasons. Firstly he claims that magic is logically more primitive than religion, and may therefore be fairly considered to belong to an earlier stage in the developement of thought, since the simplest recognition of similarity or contiguity of ideas is not so complex as the conception of personal agents, even animals being supposed to associate the ideas of things which are like each other or which have been found together in their experience, while no one attributes to the brutes a belief in spiritual agents. To this purely deductive argument Frazer adds a second and inductive observation. He claims that among the aborigines of Australia,

« the rudest savages as to whom we possess accurate information, magic is universally practised, whereas religion in the sense of a propitiation or conciliation of the highest powers seems to be nearly unknown. Roughly speaking, all men in Australia are magicians, but not one is a priest; everybody fancies he can influence his fellows or the course of nature by sympathetic magic, but nobody dreams of propitiating gods by prayer and sacrifice »[2].

It is not, therefore, unreasonable, says Frazer, to deduce from the fact that the most backward culture in the world is prolific in magic and barren in religion that all other races have advanced to their higher cultural position through the same historic stages of developement from

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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Boug*, 3rd. ed., 1922 vol. I, p. 233.
[2] *Id.*, p. 234.

magic to religion and he asks whether the recorded facts from Australia do not justify the query that «just as on the material side of human culture there has been everywhere an Age of Stone, so on the intellectual side there has everywhere been an Age of Magic?» [1].

His third argument in favour of the priority of magic asserts that since we find everywhere an enormous variation in the forms of religious belief while the essence of magical belief is always the same we may assume that just as magic represents a substratum of belief in civilised communities whose upper social elements are busied with some one or other of the multitude of religious creeds so it represents as well an earlier, more primitive, phase of thought in the history of the human race in which all men held the same magical faith.

«This universal faith, this truly Catholic creed, is a belief in the efficacy of magic. While religious systems differ not only in different countries, but in the same country in different ages, the system of sympathetic magic remains everywhere and at all times substantially alike in its principles and practice. Among the ignorant and superstitious classes of modern Europe it is very much what it was thousands of years ago in Egypt and India, and what is now among the lowest savages surviving in the remotest corners of the world. If the test of truth lay in a show of hands or a counting of heads, the system of magic might appeal, with far more reason than the Catholic Church, to the proud motto, «*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,*» as the sure and certain credential of its own infallibility» [2].

Frazer then proceeds to enquire about the process of mental change from an exclusive belief in magic to a belief in religion also. He thinks that he can do no more than «hazard a more or less plausible conjecture» about this change in orientation of belief. This conjecture is that the shrewder intelligences began to see that magic did not really accomplish what it set out to accomplish and fell back on the belief that there were beings, like themselves, who directed the course of nature and who must be placated and cajoled into granting man what he had hitherto believed himself able to bring about through magic on his own initiative.

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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* 3rd, ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 235.

[2] *Id.,* pp. 235-6.

« The shrewder intelligences must in time have come to perceive that magical ceremonies and incantations did not really effect the results which they were designed to produce, and which the majority of their simpler fellows still believed that they did actually produce. This great discovery of the inefficacy of magic must have wrought a radical though probably slow revolution in the minds of those who had the sagacity to make it. The discovery amounted to this, that men for the first time recognised their inability to manipulate at pleasure certain natural forces which hitherto they had believed to be completely within their control. It was a confession of human ignorance and weakness. Man saw that he had taken for causes what were no causes, and that all his efforts to work by means of these imaginary causes had been vain. His painful toil had been wasted, his curious ingenuity had been squandered to no purpose. He had been pulling at strings to which nothing was attached; he had been marching, as he thought, straight to the goal, while in reality he had only been treading in a narrow circle. Not that the effects which he had striven so hard to produce did not continue to manifest themselves. They were still produced, but not by him. The rain still fell on the thirsty ground : the sun still pursued his daily, and the moon her nightly journey across the sky : the silent procession of the seasons still moved in light and shadow, in cloud and sunshine across the earth : men were still born to labour and sorrow, and still, after a brief sojourn here, were gathered to their fathers in the long home hereafter. All things indeed went on as before, yet all seemed different to him from whose eyes the old scales had fallen. For he could no longer cherish the pleasing illusion that it was he who guided the earth and the heaven in their courses, and that they would cease to perform their great revolutions were he to take his feeble hand from the wheel. In the death of his enemies and his friends he no longer saw a proof of the resistless potency of his own or of hostile enchantments; he now knew that friends and foes alike had succumbed to a force stronger than any that he could wield, and in obedience to a destiny which he was powerless to control »[1].

In the end magic is suppressed by religion and eventually comes under the ban of the priesthood as a black art. So at a late period in the de-

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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. 1922. Vol. I, pp. 237-8.

velopement of human thought we find a distinction drawn between religion and superstition, magic being classed as a superstition.

« But when, still later, the conception of the elemental forces as personal agents is giving way to the recognition of natural law; then magic, based as it implicitly is on the idea of a necessary and invariable sequence of cause and effect, independent of personal will, reappears from the obscurity and discredit into which it had fallen, and by investigating the causal sequencies in nature, directly prepares the way for science. Alchemy leads up to chemistry »[1].

(5) Finally Frazer rounds off his account of magic by showing the part it has played in the history of political developement. Magic is practised in primitive societies not only by private individuals for their own private purposes but also by public functionaries on behalf on the whole community and these men are able to gain great wealth and repute and may acquire rank and authority by their ritual functions. Moreover the profession of public magician selects the ablest, most ambitious, and most unscrupulous, men in society since it sets a premium on knavish imposture. That 'public magic' is often a road to political influence and social prestige and private affluence Frazer shows by many actual examples from Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, and Africa, and he justly concludes that :

« in point of fact magicians appear to have often developed into chiefs and kings. Not that magic is the only or perhaps even the main road by which men have travelled to a throne »[2].

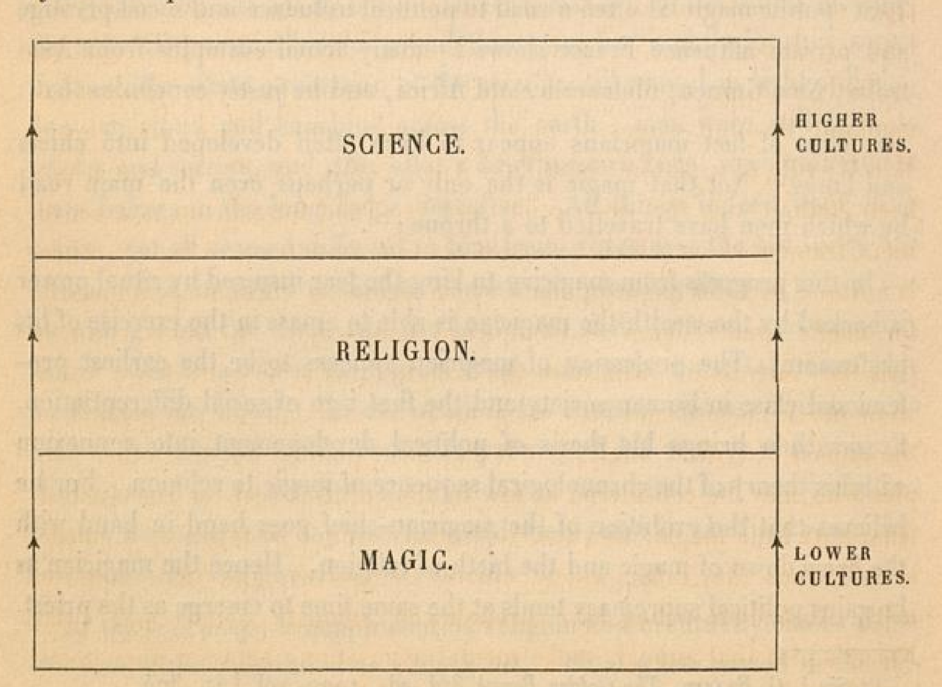
In this progress from magician to king the fear inspired by ritual power is backed by the wealth the magician is able to amass in the exercise of his profession. The profession of magician appears to be the earliest professional class in human society and the first sign of social differentiation. Frazer then brings his thesis of political developement into connexion with his theory of the chronological sequence of magic to religion. For he believes that the evolution of the magician-chief goes hand in hand with the breakdown of magic and the birth of religion. Hence the magician as he gains political supremacy tends at the same time to emerge as the priest.

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[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 374.
[2] *Id.*, p. 332.

« Hence the king starting as a magician, tends gradually to exchange the practice of magic for the priestly functions of prayer and sacrifice. And while the distinction between the human and the divine is still imperfectly drawn, it is often imagined that men may themselves attain to godhead not merely after their death, but in their life time, through the temporary or permanent possession of their whole nature by a great and powerful spirit » [1].

While Tylor traced the changes which have taken place in the form and functions of magic, religion, and science, through the ages and kept his conception of their growth and decay within the limits set by knowledge derived from history and a comparative study of cultures, Frazer traced the progress of human thought through stratified grades of unilinear developement, each grade representing a step on which mankind has everywhere rested awhile on his path of upward progress. We may therefore present Frazer's scheme diagrammatically to compare it with the diagrammatic presentation which we have drawn to demonstrate Tylor's viewpoint.



[1] Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* 3rd. ed., 1922, vol. I, p. 372.

Having summarised the theories of Tylor and Frazer I shall now try to sort them out and class them as hypotheses capable of inductive proof and in accordance with present knowledge, hypotheses which cannot be proved inductively but which have heuristic value, and hypotheses which are useless either because they are contrary to ascertained facts or being beyond proof or disproof by inductive enquiry lack also even heuristic value. Into the last class come Frazer's theories about the affective and ideational similarity between magic and science, about the developement of thought through stages of magic, religion, and science, and the greater part of his analysis of magical symbolism.

Tylor and Frazer were both dominated by the evolutionary ideas of their time and tended to see different types of behaviour as representatives of historic stages. Frazer especially arranged his types in a temporal sequence which was hardly justified by his methods of investigation. He could have shown the historical developement of magic and science, as Thorndike, for instance, has done, in a definite culture of which we have historical knowledge, or he could have carefully defined cultural types on a consensus of cultural traits and demonstrated the correlation between these types and modes of thought. He used neither of these methods with the result that his theory of the evolutionary progress of mankind through stages of magic, religion, and science, has earned Marett's title of a platonic myth and it is possible that Frazer would have been content with this description and regarded his scheme as a convenient framework on which to weave his vast assortment of facts. There is nothing in Frazer's arguments which proves a chronological priority for magic over religion and empirical knowledge. Frazer's argument that the Australians, who have the simplest material culture we know, show much magical and little religious behaviour falls to the ground on the impact of critical analysis. It has been pointed out that other peoples who may be considered as low in the cultural scale as the Australians, have little magic; that the Australians cannot be taken as a cultural unit since they differ widely among themselves; and that moreover many Australian tribes have pronounced animistic beliefs and cults. Frazer's plea that animals make mental associations between phenomena and that this is also the essence of magical beliefs is a very remote and superficial analogy. Magic is a system of ritual techniques and not simple

mental associations between phenomena. Moreover this evolutionary theory suffers from the same drawback as others of its kind, namely that it is quite beyond proof or disproof. If anyone had been present when men performed their first rites he might have recorded their nature and we could then have classified them as religion or magic according to our several formulæ. Frazer's theory of how mankind changed from a magical to a religious view of the universe is hardly presented as a serious thesis and is not treated as one here.

Nevertheless the priority in time of magic over religion, though it cannot be inductively proved might have been deductively concluded if Frazer had made an exhaustive survey of the facts by the method of correlation such as was employed by Tylor, Steinmetz, and Hobhouse, Ginsberg and Wheeler. It might be possible to show that magic is specially prominent in those societies with a low technological equipment and undeveloped political organisation and that when we examine types of society with more efficient technology and more complex social organisation we find a greater absence of magical rites and a greater number of religious ones and that finally we reach societal types of greatest technical efficiency and most complex social life in which magic is almost absent and religion less prominent than in the second type while behaviour and thought are becoming more and more exclusively empirical.

An analysis of the kind suggested here, particularly of the correlation of magical and empirical thought with other forms of social behaviour would be well worth the labour that it would cost. There can be no doubt that magic as a dominant form of social behaviour is restricted to savage and barbarous peoples. This does not mean that all uncivilised societies are magic-ridden or does it mean that magic is totally unknown in civilised communities [1]. What it means is that if we trace the changes which have taken place in those civilisations for which we possess written history we shall find that there is a slow and cumulative increase in empirical knowledge and a slowly diminishing body of magical knowledge and that also if we compare societies without the art of writing and without advanced technology with those that possess the art of writing and

[1] A vast literature could be cited on magical rites practised by the peasantry of Europe.

are technologically advanced we shall find that on the whole the technique of magic in less prominent a mode of behaviour in the latter than in the former. We may say therefore that magic is a technique characteristic of simple societies and tends to disappear with the advancement of civilisation, a point of view advanced by Tylor and strikingly developed by Lévy-Bruhl in the provoking contrast he makes between Primitive Mentality and Civilised Mentality.

If we mean by science an elaborate system of knowledge, the result of experimentation in the hands of specialists, such as we think of when we speak about science today, there is little difficulty in assigning to it an historical stage in the developement of human thought. But if we mean any correct knowledge of natural processes and acquaintance with technological methods then it is clearly improper to place science at one end and magic at the other end of a series of developemental stages, as Frazer has done, since it is evident that no peoples could possibly have lived in a state of culture sufficient to engage in ritual unless they first had sufficient technological knowledge to master their environment. You cannot have agricultural or hunting magic unless you have agriculture and hunting. Moreover, the most primitive societies of today are always found to be equipped with a sound knowledge of nature. The difference between scientific knowledge used in the first sense and scientific knowledge used in the second sense is one of degree but it may be generally stated that in the first useage means that you understand that certain things do happen invariably and that the second useage means that you understand how and why they happen. In the first case you know that if you plant maize seeds in a certain type of ground at a certain time of the year maize will grow. In the second case you know why the seeds grow at all, why they grow in one soil and not in another, and why they grow at one time of the year and not at another. But even here there are many degrees of knowledge and the empirical shades into the scientific.

It is never clear what Frazer means by science for he uses the word now in one sense now in another but on the whole he seems to mean the conscious striving after knowledge, the systems of criticism and controls, and the use of logic and experiment, which the word implies in ordinary useage today. Used in this sense the analogy which he draws between

science and magic is unintelligible. He says that science and magic both visualise an uniform nature subject to invariable laws and that the scientist and the magician have a like psychological approach to nature. It is clear from accounts of savages that they have no conception of nature as a system organised by laws and in any case the utilisation of magic to influence the course of nature is surely in direct opposition to the scientist's conception of the universe. You cannot both believe in natural law and that you can delay the sun by placing a stone in the fork of a tree. If there are any regularities and uniformities of thought they are in the workings of magic and not of nature. But the whole discussion seems rather pointless for you have to be a scientist to note regularities and uniformities and organise them into a conscious theory of the universe. Indeed Frazer himself speaks of the magical view of the universe subject to law and expressing uniformity as implicit and not explicit and it is difficult to see any sense in theoretical magic which is not explicit. All it can mean is that if we used magic in the same way as the savage uses it we would have a theory that the world was sufficiently regular in its working for us to rely on magic to control it since it may be expected always to react in the same manner to the performance of the same spell or rite. We should generalise our experiences in this manner because we are scientifically orientated but since we are scientifically orientated we should at once perceive the fallacy of magic. With regard to the supposition that the man of science and the man of magic both approach their task with quiet confidence and masterful assurance and that their psychology contrasts with the nervous apprehension and humility of the man of religion it can only be said that Frazer produces no facts in support of his contention.

The apparent futility of Frazer's analogy between science and magic is due to the fact that he sees both as modes of thinking and not as learnt modes of technical behaviour with concomitant speech forms. If he had compared a magical rite in its entirety with a scientific performance in its entirety instead of comparing what he supposes to go on in the brain of a magician with what he supposes to go on in the brain of a scientist he would have seen the essential difference between science and magic. This difference is most strikingly shown in the experimental standpoint on the two modes of behaviour. Science experiments and is open to experience

and ready to make adjustments in its notions of reality whereas magic is relatively non-experimental and the magician is impervious to experience, as science understands the term, since he employs no methods of testing or control. If moreover Frazer had not brought the scientific specialist on to the scene in order to compare him with the magical specialist but had compared magical knowledge and behaviour with scientific knowledge and behaviour, that is to say had compared those forms of knowledge which accord with objective reality with those which distort objective reality and those forms of behaviour which achieve their purpose with those forms of behaviour which are only believed to achieve their purpose, and had compared them as types of thought and behaviour in the same cultural conditions instead of in totally different cultural conditions, his investigations would have been of greater value. He might have compared empirical behaviour with magical behaviour among the savages of Australia and observed their interaction, their social inter-relations, and their concomitant psychological states, with some chance of reaching valid conclusions about the differences which exist between them. Lévy-Bruhl who took an exactly opposite point of view, holding that magical thought and scientific thought stand to each other as black to white, made the same mistake of comparing our science with savage magic instead of comparing savage empiricism with savage magic.

Besides suffering from the influence of current psychological and evolutionary theories Frazer's exposition also suffered from current methodological deficiencies. He used what is known as the comparative method and this does not mean the conviction that any scientific generalisation must rest on a comparative study of similar phenomena, a conviction common to all men of science and an essential part of their methodology, but a particular way of comparing phenomena which was extensively used by all anthropological writers at the end of the last century. It consisted in selecting from a vast mass of data, uneven and often poor in quality, whatever phenomena appeared to belong to the same type. This proved to be a very dangerous proceeding because the selection of facts was made on the grounds of similarity between phenomena in virtue of a single common quality. The qualities which were different in each instance were neglected. This is a perfectly sound method of scientific analysis so long as conclusions are restricted to the particular quality abstracted

and it is not then assumed that because phenomena are alike in respect to this single quality that they are alike in other respects which have not been subject to critical comparative analysis. In a study of social facts the procedure is all the more hazardous for these are defined by their inter-relations and if they are abstracted from their social milieu it is essential to realise that they are only comparable in a limited number of respects and not as complete social facts. By use of the comparative method Frazer was successful in demonstrating that the ideology of magic rests upon fundamental laws of thought for it is possible to isolate the ideological associations of a vast number of magical rites and to compare them simply as examples of evident notions which are the raw material of all human thought. But when Frazer then proceeds to find a similarity between magic and science merely because the scientist and the magician use the processes of all thought building, sensation, abstraction, and comparison, the procedure is clearly inadmissible because it does not follow from the fact that both magic and science display in their ideologies the most elementary processes of thought that there is any real similarity between scientific and magical techniques and systems of thought. This *pars pro toto* fallacy is again shown in Frazer's argument that because magic and science both disregard spiritual beings they are similar in virtue of this absent association. This is equivalent to saying that x is not y and z is not y and that therefore x and z are the same. I conclude therefore that Frazer's theories of the similarity between magic and science and of their historic stages are unsupported by either sound evidence or logic and that they have little heuristic value. Indeed they are formulated in such a manner that it is difficult to present them in a scientific form at all and consequently they impede rather than assist us in our quest. It is useless to attempt to solve the queries which Frazer raises. We have to formulate the problems anew if we are to conduct a scientific enquiry.

Of what value is the whole Tylor-Frazer conception of magic as a mistaken association of ideas. Here we may distinguish between two propositions : — (1) in the words and actions of magic we can discern the operation of certain elementary laws of thought. The associations which link the rite and its objective are so simple that they are evident to us who are far removed from the cultures in which magic flourishes.

They are found to rest on perception of position and perception of similarities. (2) These associations are to us no more than memory images of qualities of things which have an ideal relationship in our minds but the savage mistakes these ideal relations for real relations in the world around him. We and savages both think in the same way insofar as perception and comparison of sensations are concerned but the savage then leaves us behind and goes a step further by believing that because two things are associated together in his memory image that they are objectively associated. He believes that because things are like each other they will act on each other since they are bound by an invisible link.

We can accept the first proposition without hesitation. It was clearly ennunciated by Tylor and abundantly illustrated by Frazer. We can adopt the terminology of the *Golden Bough* and speak of *Homoeopathic Magic* and *Contagious Magic*. But it is surprising that Frazer made no deeper analysis for to tell us that magical thought rests on perception of position and similarities is not to tell us much since these are the elementary processes of all thought and it follows from the fact that magic is man-made. A more comprehensive analysis could be made by listing the particular qualities of objects which are associated in the ideology of magic. For example in the instance of the gold-jaundice association it is the quality of colour. The mental associations embodied in magic can thus be resolved into even simpler elements than Frazer's laws of similarity and contagion; they can be resolved into the simplest of conscious sensations and the notions and memory images resulting from them. It can be shown upon which abstractions magic is built up, whether of sight, hearing, odour, taste, or touch. When a stone figures in magic which of its qualities is abstracted in the magical association, its size, its colour, its roughness, its temperature, or its weight? Magical associations can likewise be resolved into elementary notions of the dimensions of sensations, position in space, position in time, dimensions of size, and so on. He might also have shown us how in a complicated rite a single part of a process is selected to stand for the whole, as Thurnwald has done. A third, but difficult, task would be to show whether the association is restricted to a single cultural situation or whether it figures in a number of cultural situations; sometimes even being given a permanence and inevitability by language. Are gold and jaundice associated together only

in the magical situation of therapeutic treatment or have they an association outside this situation in the minds of Greek peasants? An example of association fixed by language is elephantiasis for when we speak of the disease we inevitably mention this animal. The Azande of the Nile-Uelle Divide make the same comparison and the association is embodied in the word and is therefore not restricted to situations in which elephant's foot is used to cure elephantiasis. We have to enquire also whether the abstraction of a quality in magical associations is always a culturally indicated perception, e.g. in colour associations; and other lines of enquiry could be suggested.

The second proposition is most misleading and is illustrative of one of those perilous leaps backwards and forwards in the dark from observable social behaviour to individual psychological processes which distinguish anthropolgical gymnastics. Frazer's argument runs as follows : to the Greek peasant jaundice and gold are of the same colour and since things which are alike react on one another gold if used according to certain rules will cure jaundice. I would prefer to state the proposition as follows : gold and jaundice produce the same sensations of colour and this similarity is culturally indicated by their association in magical behaviour. It is the middle expression in Frazer's thesis to which objection is taken. In his account he frequently informs us that in savage minds like produces like and that contiguous things remain in contact when their contiguity ceases to be objective and remains, as we would say, only a memory image. We are told that "the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it" and that "homoeopathic magic makes the mistake of assuming that things which resemble each other are the same".

We may first note in criticism of this point of view that it is always uncertain what Frazer means by his statements because the inferences he refers to are only "implicitly believed" or "tacitly assumed". But beliefs and assumptions are judgements, they are conscious processes in which the middle term between two associated images is known to the thinker. Apart from this terminological haze which hangs over the whole discussion and which alone serves to obscure all issues there is a hopeless jumble of psychological and sociological problems in which psychological concepts are used where they are quite irrelevant. We must keep our

problems distinct if we are to find our way through this labyrinth of vague generalisations. Sensations and abstractions and simple comparison of abstractions are psychological processes common to all mankind and in a sociological study of magic they do not concern us as psychological facts. We are also not concerned with the question why magical associations embody notions of position and resemblance. It is inconceivable that they should not. The problem which concerns us is related to the social value or social indication which is given to objects and qualities. This value may be empirical, that is to say it may attribute to a thing, and utilise, the qualities which it really possesses. For example, a stone is considered to be hard and is therefore used as a tool. Or the value may be mystical, that is to say it may attribute to a thing qualities which it does not possess and which are not subject to sensory impressions. For example a stone may be used in magical rites or be considered the dwelling place of a spirit. The perception of similar colouring in gold and jaundice is a psychological fact which requires a psychological explanation. The embodiment of this perception in a social technique is a sociological fact and requires a sociological explanation. It is not our business to explain the sensations which the physical qualities of an object produce in men but it is our task to explain the social qualities with which men invest the object. The tendency of Tylor and Frazer to explain social facts in terms of individual psychology have been justly criticised by Durkheim and his school. Either this means that a pattern of thought can be explained in terms of psycho-physical functioning of a individual's brain which appears to be absurd if only because the pattern existed before the individual was born and he inherited it as part of his social heritage, even when it involves sensations which have to be individually experienced, or it means that a pattern of thought can be explained by an individual's mental content which is, of course, no explanation at all.

Even the simplest associations if they are to be anything more than passing images are creations of social useage, of language, of technology, of magic, and so on. This is why in experiments on association there is really so little free association and why the responses evoked in so many subjects are so often of the same type. One is not surprised that a Greek peasant can see a resemblance between the colour of gold and the colour of jaundice but the problem is why he should associate these two things

together in magical performances when he does not associate them together in other situations and why he associates these two particular things and not other things which have the same qualities of colour. It would never occur to us to associate gold and jaundice together so why should the Greek peasant associate them together? The answer can hardly be avoided that he associates them together in certain situations because he learns to do so when he learns to speak and behave as other members of his society learn to speak and behave. But one presumes that the Greek peasant does not always make this association and that it is possible for him to think of and use gold without thinking of jaundice and even that he can think of jaundice without associating it with gold. It is also pertinent to ask why he should associate gold and not something else with jaundice and in posing this question a whole range of problems present themselves. We ask whether there are other things which in their culture fulfil the conditions of colour and adaptibility to the requirements of magical useage, we ask what is the social value given to gold in other situations, we ask whether there is evidence of the association, in the situation of jaundice, having been borrowed as a single trait from neighbouring peoples, and we may ask many other questions.

The point I wish to emphasize is that these associations are situational associations. They derive their sociological significance because they are social facts and not because they are psychological facts. It is the social situation which gives them meaning, which even gives them the possibilities of expression. Magic and gold come into cultural associations in the life of an individual because they are linked together by a magical rite. We must not say that a Greek peasant sees that gold and jaundice have the same colour and that therefore he can use the one to cure the other. Rather we must say that because gold is used to cure jaundice colour associations between them becomes established in the mind of a Greek peasant. It may even be asked to what extent the resemblance between their colours is consciously formulated by the performer of the rite, to what extent he is aware of the colour link in the association of gold and jaundice.

No savage believes that everything which has the same size, or colour, or weight, or temperature, or sound, etc., are in mystical connection and can be used to operate on one another. If primitive man really mistook

an ideal connection for a real one and confused subjective with objective experiences his life would be chaos. He could not exist. It is a psychological absurdity. Why then do savages only *sometimes* make these associations between phenomena and not *always* make them? Why do *some* peoples make them and *others* on the same cultural level, not make them? Knowledge of the cultural situation in which the association is made will alone answer these questions. The association will be found to be not a general one but a particular one which is specific in a certain situation. Stones and sun are not linked in a general association but only in the special situation in which a stone is placed in the fork of a tree to keep the sun from sinking. The association comes into being by the performance of a rite. There is no mystical relation between sun and stones but man endows a particular stone with a ritual quality by using it in a rite and for the duration of the rite. When a savage throws water into the air he does not imagine that by doing so he produces rain. He only thinks this when he throws water into the air during the performance of a rite to produce rain. Hence there is no mistaken association of ideas. The association between a certain quality in one thing and the same quality in another thing is a correct and universal association. It does not violate the laws of logic for it is a psychological process altogether outside their sphere. It would certainly be a mistake were the savage to hold that because things are alike they can, in virtue of their likeness alone, act on one another at a distance or that by merely imitating an act he can produce it. But here again the savage makes no such mistake. He believes that certain rites can produce certain results and the mimetic or homoeopathic elements in the rite are the manner in which the purpose of the rite is expressed. It is the rite itself, the performance of standardised movements and the uttering of standardised words and the other stereotyped conditions of ritual, which achieves the result. The savage does not say ''Whatever I imitate will happen so that if throw water into the air rain will fall''. What he says is ''There is no rain at this season of the year when there ought to be rain and if we get the rain-maker to perform a rite rain will fall and our crops will be saved''. Why rites so often take a mimetic form is a psychological problem which we shall not discuss here. Marett has put forward a brilliant hypothesis but it is possible to advance other theories. We must therefore make

the objection with Freud «dass die Assoziationstheorie der Magie bloss die Wege aufklärt, welche die Magie geht, aber nicht deren eigentliches Wesen, nämlich nicht das Missverständnis, welches sie psychologische Gesetze an die Stelle naturlicher setzen heisst" [1].

If I have criticised Frazer severely I render hommage to his scholarship. The *Golden Bough* is an essential source-book for all students of human thought and the faithful way in which he has treated his authorities is an assurance that we drink at an undiluted stream. His writings have always been, and no less today than in the past, a stimulus to those working in the same field and every criticism is a tribute. But we can go farther than making these acknowledgements—we must take over from Tylor and Frazer many sound ideas and use them in the foundations of any theory of magic which is to stand the test of criticism and research. As we are, as it were, taking these ideas away with us, they may be listed as briefly as possible since in future writings they will be utilised, while those ideas which we believe to be erroneous and to which we have devoted lengthy criticism are being jettisoned once and for all.

(1) Tylor's exposition of the variations of magic as a form of social behaviour with variations in cultural developement.

(2) Tylor's brilliant analysis of the mechanisms which compel and maintain faith in magic among savage and barbarous peoples.

(3) Frazer's observation, cautiously stated, of the oft found identity of the public magician with the political chief.

(4) The division of ritual into religion and magic on the formal basis of presence or absence of belief in spirits with attendant cult, put forward by Tylor and adopted by Frazer, is an acceptable terminological device. So much time and labour has been expended in a futile endeavour to define the respective spheres of magic and religion in the abstract that it is necessary to state that sociology studies social behaviour and distinguishes between one type of behaviour and another and whether a particular type of behaviour is labelled with one term or with another term is

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[1] *Totem und Tabu*, p. 111.

of minor interest. What is of importance is that all students in the same field should use key terms like magic and religion with the same meaning. Magic and religion are clearly what we define them to be in terms of behaviour. We do not want a discussion about the relation of abstractions to one another in a cultural vacuum but we want a discussion about the relations between magical behaviour and religious behaviour in specific cultures. Tylor and Frazer defined religion much more clearly than they defined magic and their division has been accepted by many scholars [1] and may be used as a convenient starting point for more intensive research.

(5) Frazer's division of magic into "homoeopathic" and "contagious" likewise is a step in advance of Tylor's analysis and serves as a basis for still further analysis of the symbolism of magic.

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[1] To mention only one : W. H. R. Rivers, *Medicine, Magic and Religion*, Kegan Paul, 1927, p. 4 and *passim*. This writer does not consider, however, that primitive peoples have the "concept of the natural" and therefore not of the supernatural.

EGYPTIAN AND FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN THE EVOLUTION OF WEST AFRICAN CULTURES

BY

M. A. M. SHARKAWY.

A study of the orographic, climatic and vegetational aspects of West Africa will reveal that West Africa constitutes a well defined natural region with certain marked features. This is why it has always been the custom to speak of West Africa as if it were a compact and uniform geographical unit. The whole of West Africa has been given a geographical unity from *Mauretania* to *Nigeria* by its common hinterland centring round the Niger and Senegal basins and depending on the long sweep of the Guinea Coast. It is a flat country of river basins and forests, the key to the whole, being the relation between the interior and the coastal outlets.

It is most important to think of West Africa as a whole, as a moderately elevated plateau girt by a narrow lowland coastal belt reinforced by a thick forest covering stamping it as most inaccessible from the sea. The very existence of the Sahara has rendered accessibility, on the landward side, extremely difficult. Thus bounded on the north by the Sahara and on the south and west by the triple barrier of 'surf, lagoon, fever fringe' and by the forest wall, West Africa is separated though not completely isolated from the rest of the continent. Only to the east, there is easy communication by the Sudan 'grass road' inspite of its being naturally limited southward by the steep faced and densely forested Camer ons while northward it is flanked by the Sahara east of the Ashen plateau. The presence of these natural barriers as well as the absence

of natural unhindered means of communication, namely navigable waterways, all told in the history of the cultural development of West Africa.

Consequently, West Africa and more particularly Western Sudan, has, from earliest times, seen constant admixture of races and cultures. The absence of natural barriers has largely contributed to this great admixture as well as to the fact that there are no sharp ethnographic or cultural divisions. In fact one must visualise the whole of West Africa as a zone of ethnographic and cultural sweepings. Such understanding may help to account for the existence of the most varied ethnological elements, which are found, distributed according to the measure of attraction that invited the occupation by anyone of these cultural groups. Indeed, internal conditions played an important part because they greatly affected the distribution and above all differentiated the various groups. Thus one finds regions altogether homogeneous, nomadic confederations, agricultural communities and multitudes of independent peoples, in all stages and degrees of development, speaking their own languages, living their own life and having their own customs and peculiar characteristics. Even at present, no part of Africa is more politically confused, consisting as it does, of a series of 'enclaves' stretching back from the coast, each originating in a coastal trading centre established between the 15th and 18th centuries and now belonging alternately to France and Great Britain, with a single remaining Portuguese possession and the liberian Republic of the liberated slaves to add to the confusion.

Beside the Negrillo peoples represented by the scattered groups who are gradually disappearing as they are being absorbed by the more vigorous elements, there is the 'forest negro' who is the purest representative of the West African negro type which constitutes the backbone of the whole population. In their purest state, these types are found mainly in the seaward slopes which are usually covered by either dense tropical or wet Savana forests. Hunting, fishing and food gathering were the main occupations but when the forest was cleared, the most primitive shifting type of agriculture was practised. De Preville considered this belt as his "banana and millet" zone. The northern slopes with their open character extending to the edge of the Sahara, constituted the pastoral area for his "camel, goat and cattle" zones, while possibly also practising cereal cultivation during the rainy season. The Savana peoples

as a whole, are racially mainly negroid although they show certain appreciable Hamito-Berber influences as well as a comparatively recent Semitic infilteration.

In addition to these distinct racial types, every form of hybridisation may be seen among the various groups though these may be living in close proximity to one another. The excessive heterogeneity can be accounted for by the ferment of the peoples inhabiting or coming by the 'Sudan Road' especially after the Islamic conquests. Moreover, a long period of intermixture between members of radically different groups, has resulted in the defacement of many distinctive ethnic and cultural peculiarities. This applies more truly to the groups dwelling far from the coast as they have been greatly influenced by the successive waves of immigration which usually brought new elements and new cultures. As far as the original pagan 'forest negro' is concerned, he shows the least modification because his home was the least attractive for the newcomers.

In all these migratory phases, the newcomers drove the earlier and the more primitive peoples into the inaccessible districts until they were again set on the move by stronger groups. Resisting tribes were either conquered or exterminated or enslaved, blending in turn, with their conquerors or forced to take refuge in a hilly rugged region as the Bauchi plateau or into the equally inaccessible forest and swamp belt which characterises West Africa south of the 9th N. latitude.

The main lines of migration, which resulted in both racial and cultural infilterations all over the more open country of West Africa, came either as a southward movement from North Africa, as such which brought Berber influences, or through the "Sudan Road" following the Savana edge from the east and affecting contact with the upper valley of the Nile.

The history of such early racial and cultural migrations must remain obscure and speculative because there is scarcely anything in the form of authentic literature.

West African history proper does not begin until the 8th Century A. D. Prior to this date one seems inclined to agree with Moulin in his '*L'Afrique à travers les âges*' that we should be contented with a roughly sketched picture to give the necessary impressions. West Africa, doubtless, has been peopled by natives for countless ages but nothing definite is known as regards their ethnic composition as well as their cultural attainments.

What changes the region has seen, through being continually flooded by successive waves of migrations, must remain unknown. Both tradition and folklore are misleading because every group tries always to trace back its origin, history and culture to some respectable name of a tribe, sect or cult of some advanced country. This is particularly true of the Moslem groups invariably tracing themselves back either to Arabia chiefly Mecca and Yemen or to Egypt and Tunis. The relatively advanced pagan groups do the same thing as they tend always to choose for themselves some fancy remote origins.

Thus neither history, tradition nor record throws any light on the past of West Africa until the Arab historians began to do so. What is almost certain is the fact that during the early phases of West African history, the region was only the habitat of human beings living in the lowest stage of development. There is little doubt that without the aid of the external cultural transmissions which certainly reached the area, the people would have remained unaware of any appreciable progress. As a matter of fact, no traces remain of any advanced stage of development until comparatively recent times.

As to the external influences that reached West Africa during the pre-Islamic period, Meek, Barker and Talbot among others, are of opinion that Egypt was the main centre from which early transmissions took place. It is believed that during this early Egyptian phase, a constant stream of peoples, goods and ideas penetrated West Africa as far as Liberia and the Ivory Coast. This theory has been greatly strengthened by the finding of objects in Yorubaland which according to Meek, in his *Northern tribes of Nigeria*, vol. I have been traced by Egyptologists to belong to the 6th Century B. C. Among such movements was that which brought the Efik peoples to settle and colonise the Cross river district. It is also assumed that the ancestors of the "Yoruba Dahomey Benin" peoples came by the same route. Thus one is now able to account for the skilled agriculture and metal working shown by their descendants of today. Another movement brought the Mossi peoples who came along the northern edge of the Savana zone and passed towards the bend of the Niger. They showed reluctance towards any change in their cultures and retained, up to the present time, their old pastoral occupations in their new environment.

All along the northern open lands, other racial and cultural elements continued to percolate intermingling with the old inhabitants who must have benefited by the more advanced cultures of the newcomers. The settlement of the Yoruba and Efik blocked the main natural southern routes towards the coast.

Nevertheless it is important to note that not all West Africa benefited directly from these importations which continually found their way to the area. Here the natural internal conditions played a very important part and some of the obstacles of the past are still operating up to the present time. The tse-tse fly belt, whose northern limit corresponds with that of the low bush, acted as a barrier preventing pastoral groups from penetrating to the coast. This barrier proved as difficult to negotiate as the mosquito belt which thwarted approach from the sea. Consequently, in between the two zones, the peoples and their cultures were effectively isolated.

Thus Egypt began, through its cultural contributions, the development of West Africa. Johnston went further still by assuming that there was also a slight degree of race permeation which carried early Egyptian ethnic features right into the tropical forest and the basin of the Niger. As to the material contributions it is now assumed that all the suitable Egyptian plants were passed from one tribe to the other. Recently, Seligman has been working on "Egyptian influence in Negro Africa"; trying to point out a number of probable contacts between Egyptians and negroes.

Accepting this assumption to be true, then it is most significant because it is the real beginning of the utilisation of West Africa's natural potentialities. Such early exploitation, strange enough, is based on the unique phenomenon that the stimulus came from 'without and not from within'. In other words, development became possible through non-native inspirations and consequently the natives of West Africa should be assigned the role of copyists but not originators. The main channel, along which Egyptian contributions were usually transmitted, started from Dongola cutting across the Eastern Sudan to Lake Chad basin. Thus came the 'long and straight backed ox, the humped ox, the fat tailed sheep, the little Sudanese goat, soyum grain, millet, yam, various peas, beans, gourds and pumpkins'. In addition to these, the natives received some

knowledge of 'boat building, mud architecture, simple articles of furniture, musical instruments and weapons'. For these, the native offered in exchange his 'gold, ivory and slaves' and according to Talbot the Egyptian magic lore.

Beside the main cultural drift from Egypt, there were other minor cultural waves such as those coming from Fezzan and the Mediterranean lands which were connected with West Africa by overland trade routes across the Sahara. That there was such a trade, is fully proved by the evidence of remains in some of the ancient graves of the Ivory Coast. It is even supposed that enterprising Jews crossed the Sahara in the 5th and 6th Centuries A. D. by these oases routes and reached certain areas which, according to Lander the explorer, might be taken to be Borfu in Central Nigeria, where they transplanted their religious beliefs which, he said, lingered down to the 19th Century.

The rise of Islam stamps itself as an important landmark in the history of West Africa because it inaugurated the Arabian cultural phase. The subsequent invasions of Egypt and North Africa that followed, brought about permanent religious, cultural and ethnic consequences for the Western Sudan. The Arab conquerors swept over the continent and began to tear aside the veil which later gave Africa the name of the 'Dark Continent'. It is to the Arab geographers that the task, of making Africa known to the outside world, fell, in the hands of such tireless exponents as Ibn Haukal (930 A.D.), Al Bakri (1070 A.D.), Al Idrisi (1154 A. D.) and Ibn Batuta (1353 A.D.). These, among others, furnished the earliest reliable accounts. The knowledge of Africa thus acquired, began to reach Europe through the Crusades.

Following the Arabisation and Islamisation of the Berbers of North Africa, the spread of Islam in West Africa commenced. The Berbers once converted, became most ardent workers and it is due to their unfailing efforts that Islam spread so quickly. The best way of approach to the Western Sudan was on the western side from Morocco and Tafilet. The eastern route was neglected or rather dreaded because it ran through areas unconverted yet and whose peoples were very troublesome to deal with. It was only after the spread of Islam in these regions that the eastern route regained its eminence as a cultural channel affecting contact with highly cultured Egypt.

Moreover, the Arab tribes which migrated from Arabia to Nubia and the Eastern Sudan pressed upon many of the Negro and Hamitic tribes settling chiefly in the Nile Valley and consequently set them on the move. These driven peoples migrated westward and forced their way into West Africa. Here it is most interesting to note that all the important migrations of the Western Sudanese groups are traditionally referred to disturbances connected with the wide-spreading movements of Islam. Through these continuous invasions, cultures were transmitted to West Africa and particularly to the open 'camel, goat and cattle' zones. Later on North Africa served as the main base from which West Africa derived its Berber and Arab cultural contributions. Through the activities of the Mandingo and Hausa traders, the newly received cultures were widely spread in West Africa and were even carried through the forest barrier to the Guinea Coast.

Thus continued the spread of Islam in West Africa until it became predominant all along the dry Savana belt with tongues penetrating the wetter Savana further south. There seems very little doubt that for the most part, the progressive West African communities adopted and owed their advance to the acceptance of the new creed which brought with it a highly developed culture. In fact it is to the adoption of Islam that their political and social development became possible. From a material point of view, the Arab greatly improved the conditions of Negro life. Johnston credits the Arabian phase with the introduction of such useful plants as rice, sugar cane, indigo, hemp and even cotton. Wherever Arab influence spread, the cultivation of these new plants soon followed. As to the introduction of the horse culture by the Arab, it is only fair to state that such a view seems very doubtful although he effectively helped the spread of its use.

It remains still to examine the influence of the Arab cultural contributions in the political and social evolution of the West African historical kingdoms such as Ghana, Melle, Songhai and Bornu. There is little evidence as yet to prove that this political development was the outcome of the process of evolution in the native population. What is perhaps certain is that the creation of such owed much to external influences cultural as well as racial. It seems as if the natives were never capable of producing a high standard of organisation by themselves. The West

African negro tribes vary among themselves in their political and social status; from those who recognise no chief and are still living in the patriarchal stage, lacking any but the most rudimentary communal organisation, to those with well defined tribal institutions, till they merge into the class of the more advanced communities. As a rule, the Savana groups show a much more advanced state of development than the forest groups who, in their turn, surpass the fragmentary tribes living in the lowest state of development and are found in the intricate marshes and mangrove forests of the Coast. Indeed every phase of human cultural evolution can be found and although great divergencies may exist among the different groups, yet the widely separated groups may often show a measure of similarity in the matter of beliefs, customs and social organisations. The only possible explanation of such a feature lies certainly in the annals of the complex history of the whole area. Moreover, such a feature may be taken as an important proof of the effects of previous migrations and the subsequent cultural drifts which swept all over West Africa in the past. Among the peoples, it is possible to find the two extremes; the advanced and the more primitive, but there are no hard and fast lines because there is a continuous gradation from the one to the other. Contrasts may be also seen in any one group which may be relatively high as regards its political and social organisation, while, in the meantime, possessing certain customs obviously derived from a more primitive phase of its history. Generally speaking, the more highly developed the people are, the more humane their customs become. The pagan manners and customs are altogether based upon religious motives, while their mode of living, where it is influenced by religion, is that of a man in the earliest stages of emancipation from barbarism if not actually living in such a state. The standards of civilisation vary according to the measure of contact, accessibility and the amount of external cultural contributions received. Here the geographical setting comes into prominence because the stage of progress, reached by any particular West African group, is simply the natural expression of the environmental influence permitting or prohibiting contact with the outside centres of civilisation.

Among the most primitive, the family is the unit and even the village head has but the least authority. They may be industrious agricultur-

alists, fishermen or food-gatherers but are generally the victims of gross and cruel superstitions and of degrading practices. Among those who reached the tribal stage with recognised chiefs and some cohesion for attack and defence, a few have evolved 'systems of government under paramount rulers with an elaborate subdivision of authority and ceremonial observances. Where these institutions were of indigenous growth, or fell under the rule of dynasties preponderately negro, they appear to have become despotisms marked by a disregard for human life'. Holocausts of victims were sacrificed to 'appease the deity or at the whim of the despot' as in Dahomey, Benin and Ashanti. Explorers told of the human sacrifices and the 'cannibal feasts of twin babies destroyed and the mother driven to the forest, of wives and slaves buried alive in the grave of a dead chief and of tyrant kings slaughtering their subjects like goats' and terrorising the smaller tribes around them. The Nigerian pagans, the Ivory Coast pagans of the West Central uplands and those living in the 'closed forests' and the deltaic lagoon mangrove swamps, are among the most primitive in West Africa. These are groups which are indigenous in the sense that they have lost all tradition of associations with other groups in other areas. Here the position of the chiefs has been hardly developed. Each town or village may have its own chief but all chiefs and headmen have little authority beyond the village and the farmland adjoining it. The origin of common feuds can be traced to this form of primitive organisation. Towns and villages were generally walled and stockaded and sometimes were also hidden in dense forests and entered only by a narrow path in order to prevent surprise attacks. Until very recently, when the inhabitants went out to cultivate their lands, 'they went armed and posted sentries' to give them the necessary warning in case of attack.

It is interesting to note that the transition between the semi civilised Moslem negroid or Hamito negroid groups of the Western Sudan, to the savage negro of the wet Savana and the 'closed forest', is often abrupt. The savage aborigines of the inland plateau, retreating before the steady advance of Islam, found no place of refuge till they reached the Atlantic Coast where many as the Felups still hold their ground. This explains the marked contrasts now existing between the interior and so many parts of the West Coast. In the interior, one finds powerful political organisations with numerous more or less homogeneous and semi-civilised

populations while on the coast, on the other hand, there is an infinite tangle of ethnic and cultural groups all alike 'weltering in savagery and sometimes in grades of barbarism even worse than the wild state'.

The closing of the overland route to India and China by the conquests of the Turks, is as important to West Africa as to Europe. The age of discoveries soon followed and the Portuguese in less than a century revealed the outline of the continent. This inaugurates the phase of the European cultural contributions to West Africa. The Portuguese who founded numerous trading stations along the coast and up the rivers, were not mere traders in gold, ivory and slaves because they really exercised an enduring influence. They might have been cruel to the negro through being relentless in endeavouring to convert him to Christianity or in imposing their rule, but nevertheless, they contributed generously to his material welfare.

According to Johnston, they introduced plants imported from their scattered colonies and added to these the introduction of domestic pigs and some breeds of dogs. They were rapidly followed by the French, English, Danish and Dutch attracted first by the gold, ivory and other minor products of the coast and later by the slave trade which proved more profitable. These as well as the Germans and the Italians contributed in turn to the cultures of West Africa. In every case, they made the best use of the already existing cultures while sometimes they introduced new cultures which proved their worth in other similar regions. The case of cocoa in the Gold Coast is one of the most interesting romances of commerce, colonial enterprise and cultural borrowing. In a quarter of a century, the cocoa culture which is not indigenous to West Africa as a whole, flourished and became the staple industry and the main basis of the economic development in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone.

In a word, the evolution of West African cultures owes a good deal to foreign cultural contributions which in fact made the new West Africa of today.

NOTES.

THE EXCAVATIONS OF THE EGYPTIAN UNIVERSITY AT MAADI

BY

MUSTAFA AMER.

The third season's excavations of the Egyptian University (Geography Department), in the Neolithic site at Maadi, conducted by Professor Oswald Menghin and Professor Mustafa Amer, began on February 1st, and ended on April 4th, 1933. More than 5,000 square metres were excavated, including several trial-trenches.

The season's work was again fruitful, and many interesting finds were made. Most important is the discovery of a complete square hut-foundation, which gives us a valuable conception of the neolithic house-construction of Egypt, and which is believed by Professor Junker to be the origin of a certain hieroglyphic sign. Fragments of sun-dried bricks were detected; and in several places were observed long rectangular earth-holes in which possibly vertical looms were erected. There was also excavated a big stove, probably a pottery-kiln, in addition to several well-constructed hearths. But the greatest interest lies in the discovery of a hoard of seven basalt vessels placed in a deep cellar-hole cut in the virgin-soil, possessing overhanging rims, and a rough slab of limestone as a cover. The pots are, in most cases, in an excellent state of preservation, and represent several different types, which have always been taken to represent different periods, but which here are beyond all doubt contemporaneous. This is the biggest coherent find of prehistoric stone-vessels made so far in Egypt.

In the same cellar-hole were found a fine alabaster vase, and twenty-two beads, one of some whitish material, while the rest are of carnelian.

Beside the above-mentioned hoard, there were unearthed during this season, two complete basalt vases, as well as a most remarkable pot of grey limestone, to which some red colour was applied in such a manner that, at a first glance, it looked like pottery.

Hundreds of exquisite flint implements were also collected, amongst which several big oval and exceptionally thin scrapers, and a fish-tail knife of the finest workmanship deserve special notice. Also worth mentioning is a group of wooden objects, including a fragment of a boomerang, two small sticks, perhaps of cedar, their burnt ends betraying their possible use as incense, and finally, a carefully carved stick, which may have belonged to some ornament. Beside the beads discovered in the above-mentioned cellar-hole, several body-ornaments were collected from the site; they include beads of quartz, limestone, yellow rock-crystal and azurite, as well as pierced shells and snails belonging to different species. For the first time at Maadi, a comb, made of ox-horn, was discovered. Plenty of bone implements were also found.

The booty in pottery was exceedingly rich. More than 100 complete vases were unearthed, many of them being quite new types. There were, for example, several representatives of a whitish ware, often provided with knobs or ear-handles, their appearance betraying their non-Egyptian character.

In many respects, this pottery bears likeness to the Syrian ceramics of the third millennium B. C., thus proving once more the connections of the Maadi people with their Syrian and Arabian neighbours, — connections which, however, date back to an earlier time, — for the culture at Maadi has to be placed at least about 3,500 B. C., taking the date of Menes to be about 3,200 B. C.

Of particular interest is a black pot of considerable size, decorated on the shoulder with the engraving of a crocodile, and provided with a round hole, intentionally cut at the bottom; it was probably used for cult purposes. But we have not, as yet, come across a complete specimen of painted pottery, and that, in spite of the fact that it is represented by so many sherds. Nevertheless, there was saved this season, a rather big fragment of a bowl, painted both inside and outside. The pot-painting of Maadi has a peculiar style of its own, quite independent of the various painted wares in Egypt. Its origin and connections are as yet unknown.

A piece of burnt clay representing the head of an animal was also found; though without painting, it is similar to the camel-headlike piece which was found during the first season.

The search for the tombs remained without success. There were, however, found eleven interments of foetuses, some in pots, and some in the virgin-soil. One of the pots containing a foetus shows a most important peculiarity; it possesses two perforations representing eyeholes, no doubt, to allow the spirit buried in the pot to remain in connection with the material world. It is the first example of such a device, reappearing so frequently in later times. Human adult bones were again found this season; they were scattered over the whole area, and were mostly fragments of skulls, belonging to at least seven different individuals. It is not impossible that they came from tombs which lay within the settlement, and which were destroyed by the Sebakh-diggers. Nothing sure, however, can be said, until an undisturbed grave is discovered.

The neolithic site of Maadi is proving more and more to be one of the most important centres of neolithic culture in Egypt. Both the scientific and material wealth it has unexpectedly revealed during this year's campaign, as well as the multitude of problems connected with the site, make it indispensable to excavate the whole of the settlement, the scientific importance of which cannot be over-rated. The excavations at Maadi are expected to throw fresh light, not only on the complicated questions of the earliest history of Egypt, but also on that of Palestine and Syria, the most ancient chronology of which may possibly be linked in future with Egypt, by the help of correlations with Maadi.

SOME DOUBTFUL STAR-NAMES

BY

WALT TAYLOR.

The forms *Scheat, Sheat, Skat* have been applied indifferently in English to the stars γ Persei, β Pegasi and δ Aquarii. Lammens in his *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe* (Beyrouth, 1890), p. 216, gives the forms *Scheat, Sheat* and *Sead* in French for γ Persei, and derives them from Arabic ساعد *sāʿid* 'forearm' (sometimes also 'upper arm'). In a footnote he opposes Devic, who gives the forms *Scheat, Sead* in French for β Pegasi in his *Dictionnaire étymologique des mots français d'origine orientale* (Paris, 1876), p. 204. Both authors are equally dogmatic, and both refer to the form *Sheat* in Voltaire, though in the context cited the precise meaning of the word is immaterial. Both authors are right, since both γ Persei and β Pegasi are described by the Arab astronomers as 'in the right upper arm' (or shoulder) of their respective constellation. Devic is supported in his partiality by Larousse, who records the form *Sehéat,* and defines it as a star in Pegasus.

Lammens suggests that Devic has been mistaken in identifying β Pegasi with another star of that constellation, sometimes referred to by the Arabs as سعد البارع *saʿad al-bāriʿ*, 'beautiful (excellent, ascending, superior) good omen, good luck', which Lane in his *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863-1893), p. 1361, regards as as an asterism, probably μ and λ Pegasi; and this suggested but erroneous etymology brings us to the consideration of the third English form, *Skat.*

The name سعد *saʿad* was given by the Arabs to several stars or asterisms (of which Lane records ten), signifying 'good omen, auspiciousness, good luck, lucky (star), (good) fortune'. *Skat* (possibly δ Aquarii) might with

more justice be derived from سعد *sa'ad* (as Webster suggests); since α Aquarii is called in English Sadalmelik (Arabic سعد الملك *sa'ad al-malik* 'the king's fortune'; properly applied to the asterism α and ο (?) Aquarii), β Aquarii is Sadalsud (Arabic سعد السعود *sa'ad al-sa'ūd* 'luckiest of the lucky', properly applied to the asterism β Aquarii and δ Capricorni), and γ Aquarii is Sadachbia (Arabic سعد الاخبية *sa'ad al-akhbīyah* 'the fortune of the hiding-places', properly the asterism γ, ζ, η, π Aquarii, the name referring to the notion that the venomous and noxious reptiles came from their hibernating-holes when this asterism rose).

I cannot find that δ Aquarii was specifically called 'lucky' by the Arab astronomers; and Ideler in his reliable *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Beteutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin, 1809) does not record the form *Skat.* But since the identity of many of the 'lucky' stars and asterisms is conjectural (see LANE, *loc. cit.*), and since nearly every star in Aquarius is included in one or another 'lucky' group, the English form *Skat* is probably derived from Arabic سعد *sa'ad.*

We conclude that in English perhaps *Scheat* should be applied especially to γ Persei, *Sheat* to β Pegasi, and *Skat* to δ Aquarii; and that both *Scheat* and *Sheat* are derived from Arabic ساعد *sa'id,* and *Skat* from Arabic سعد *sa'ad.*

A similar confusion exists in European star-lists about the identity of *Mirzam,* which is defined variously as the proper name of several different stars, though in English it seems to be restricted to β Canis Majoris. The confusion arises from the fact that among the Arab astronomers المرزم *al-mirzam* 'the announcer' might be applied to any star whose rising preceded that of another more brilliant star.

A similar confusion arises with *Denab, Deneb* or *Dheneb,* which have been applied in English to α Cygni, ε Aquilae, ζ Aquilae, ε Delphini, δ Capricorni, β Ceti and η Ceti. The Arabic name for all these stars began with ذنب *dhanab* 'tail' because they were all drawn in the tail of their respective constellation. As the second half of the Arabic name was lost, they all had the same name in English. One of these 'tail' stars, Denebola (β Leonis, Arabic ذنب الأسد *dhanab al-'asad* 'tail of the Lion') has

lost only the last syllable of the Arabic name, and thus retains its individuality.

We conclude therefore that where the identity of a star is in doubt owing to homonymy, the etymology of the star-name will often throw light on the subject.

NOTICES

OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY MEMBERS

OF THE STAFF OF THE FACULTY.

H. Peyre, *Qu'est-ce que le Classicisme? Essai de Mise au Point.* Librairie Droz, Paris, 1933, 250 p.

La question à laquelle ce petit livre tente d'apporter une réponse se pose tôt ou tard, à tout étudiant, à tout homme cultivé, à tout critique qui réfléchit sur la littérature française. La compréhension du classicisme français est sans doute le problème le plus délicat, et cependant le plus essentiel, qui confronte tout étranger désireux de connaître le passé, et même le présent, de la France. Mon objet, dans ce volume a été, mettant à profit une expérience de plusieurs années d'enseignement à l'étranger, de me placer, non pas au seul point de vue du Français qui, dès sa jeunesse, a été élevé et nourri dans cette littérature classique, mais au point de vue de l'étranger qui, avec la meilleure volonté du monde, ne parvient que rarement à comprendre et à sentir La Fontaine, Racine, Bossuet.

La moment semble favorable à une présentation du classicisme français, replacé ainsi en face des lecteurs étrangers et dans le cadre de la littérature comparée. Depuis une dizaine d'années, à la suite des études pénétrantes et sympathiques de Lytton Strachey, de T. S. Eliot en Angleterre, d'Irving Babbitt, de Waldo Frank en Amérique, de critiques allemands et italiens tels que K. Vossler, Schröder, Croce, Fubini, il semble que les meilleurs esprits de l'étranger, corrigeant les préjugés ou les erreurs de leurs prédécesseurs du romantisme et du XIX^e^ siècle, se sentent plus attirés que naguère par les œuvres du XVII^e^ siècle français. A mesure que le mouvement romantique s'éloigne de nous, il rejoint le classicisme dans ce passé reculé, ouvert à l'étude impartiale de l'histoire littéraire,

devant lequel passions et haines politiques et religieuses peuvent taire leurs voix discordantes. Classicisme et romantisme ont cessé d'être des frères ennemis. Chateaubriand et Victor Hugo ne paraissent guère moins loin de nous que Pascal ou Racine. Peut-être même le sont-ils davantage.

Le mot classicisme recouvre un ensemble de notions fort complexes, embrouillées encore, et comme à plaisir, par l'emploi immodéré et irraisonné de ce terme vague, que peu de nos prédecesseurs s'étaient souciés de définir. Dans un chapitre préliminaire, je me suis efforcé de distinguer avec quelque netteté les divers sens du mot «classique», et de suivre la fortune de cette épithète trop souvent malmenée. Puis, limitant d'abord l'emploi du mot pour désigner la littérature française de 1660 à 1685, j'ai voulu préciser ce que Taine aurait appelé le «milieu» et le «moment» du classicisme français : groupe social restreint, public de quelques milliers de connaisseurs, stabilité sociale et politique, entente tacite entre les auteurs et leur public, littérature mondaine et sociable. Mais surtout, la synthèse classique, ordonnée elle-même et équilibrée, suit une ère de troubles et de désordres. Elle renferme en elle comme un romantisme antérieur et latent. Les artistes classiques, héritiers des expériences et des connaissances, riches mais confuses, amassées par leurs prédecesseurs, opèrent selon leur procédé favori, qui est le choix. Ils élaguent, purifient,et créent enfin une œuvre durable et achevée. Ils renoncent à parcourir le monde extérieur, et s'attachent à mieux explorer le cœur humain. Tout classicisme est donc un moment fortuné d'équilibre momentanément stable. Tout classicisme est nécessairement court, car il est un temps d'arrêt. Un classicisme prolongé ne peut que dégénérer en pseudo-classicisme, car, n'ayant plus de désordre antérieur à transformer en ordre et en beauté, il se contente de copier des chefs-d'œuvre selon des recettes tout artificielles et extérieures.

Le classicisme ainsi replacé dans le temps et rattaché à un état social et politique précis, il restait à le caractériser dans son contenu idéologique et dans son art. C'est ce que tentent de faire les principaux chapitres de notre étude. Rationalisme, impersonnalité, obéissance aux règles, imitation de l'antiquité — tout cela est l'apparence traditionnelle et scolaire du classicisme. Derrière tout cela, il y a la vie, la jeunesse d'une génération ardente et richement douée, qui s'est imposée des règles et

des limitations, parce qu'elle a compris, dans un éclair de génie, la large vérité que Gœthe a formulée ainsi : *In der Beschränkung zeigt sich erst der Meister.*

De même, l'idéal d'art du classicisme est autre chose, comme j'ai essayé de le montrer, qu'un ensemble de recettes et de conventions : c'est une recherche incessante de la perfection, du fini. C'est la maturité de l'homme fait, opposée à l'inquiétude romantique, au trouble de l'adolescence. Pudeur, sérénité, équilibre profond, patiemment recherché : tels sont les éléments essentiels de l'art d'un Poussin, d'un La Fontaine, d'un Racine. En face d'un classicisme ainsi conçu, le romantisme apparaît, non pas certes comme moins beau, mais comme plus inquiet, plus assoiffé de rêve et d'étrangeté, comme une perpétuelle aspiration, une quête anxieuse et frémissante, incessamment déçue, d'un Saint-Graal imaginaire. Le classicisme est *Vollendung,* opposé à l'*Unendlichkeit* du romantisme. Ce qui ne signifie nullement que le classicisme soit arrêt, dessèchement, vieillesse. Tout profond classique a commencé par être un romantique; on ne naît pas classique; on le devient, lentement. Derrière la discipline et la froideur apparente de notre classicisme, se cachent une fougue à peine tempérée, une richesse d'expériences et de réflexions, une sensualité et une sensibilité contenues, qui font justement le prix de ce classicisme.

Après avoir caractérisé ainsi le classicisme français, il convenait de poser la question qui se présente sans doute à l'esprit du lecteur : dans quelle mesure ce classicisme français peut-il se rapprocher de ce qu'on nomme parfois classicisme en Grèce et à Rome, de ce que les Anglais appellent leur âge classique ou «Augustan», du soi-disant classicisme de Gœthe? De tels rapprochements sont, à nos yeux, vains et factices. Mais ils nous servent, en nous dévoilant les points de vue anglais, allemand ou italien, à comprendre pourquoi ces peuples, partant du pseudo-classicisme de leur propre littérature, n'ont pas réussi à découvrir le vrai fond du classicisme du XVII[e] siècle français.

Est-ce à dire que le classicisme soit un apanage exclusif du peuple français? que la France, seule entre tous les peuples modernes, ait été prédestinée à créer une littérature classique et qu'elle doive elle-même toujours regarder vers ce XVII[e] siècle, que prônent aujourd'hui quelques prophètes obstinés du passé? Le dernier chapitre du livre, «Classicisme

et Néo-classicisme », traite sans indulgence ces retours au classicisme qu'ont préconisé, depuis 1900, tant de penseurs et d'écrivains français. Ces néo-classiques sont, en général, des traditionnalistes acharnés, qui, confondant la littérature avec la politique et la religion, soupirent après cette ère révolue, où la France était catholique, monarchiste, et la première puissance de l'Europe, en face d'une Allemagne déchirée par la guerre de Trente Ans. Il leur manque l'essentiel du classicisme, c'est-à-dire la hardiesse et l'innovation, l'émotion et la passion, discrètement épurées et contenues par des contraintes de forme et une stylisation d'art. La discipline et le frein sont, certes, d'excellentes choses, à condition qu'il y ait au préalable quelque fougue à réfréner, quelque passion à modérer. Aspirer au classicisme n'a jamais suffi pour faire un classique. « Seuls les romantiques, a dit quelque part Marcel Proust, savent lire les ouvrages classiques, car ils les lisent comme ils ont été écrits, romantiquement ».

Une bibliographie d'environ deux cents titres français et étrangers groupe les ouvrages les plus utiles à cette interprétation du classicisme, rejeunie par le point de vue comparatiste. Pas plus que l'ouvrage lui-même, elle ne prétend à être complète. On discutera longtemps encore, toujours, sur ce sujet. Nous souhaitons seulement que notre contribution aide à préciser certains points, à en révéler quelques autres, et fasse entrer quelques bouffées d'air frais dans l'atmosphère irrespirable de salle de classe, qui a, pendant des années, corrompu et desséché la compréhension du classicisme.

H. P.